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USSR Report

TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 13, September 1982

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10 December 1982

USSR REPORT

TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No 13, September 1982

Translations from the Russian-language theoretical organ of the CPSU Central Committee published in Moscow (18 issues per year).

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PEOPLE'S TEACHER

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 82 pp 3-12

[Text] This is a concept which has long become ordinary to us but which conceals a fact of tremendous social significance: in the society which is building communism, for more than half a century a specialist of an entirely new type has developed and asserted himself. He is not simply an educator in the conventional age-old meaning of the term. He is not simply a working person in a school, engaged in educational work among students, but an active and purposeful fighter for the implementation of the Marxist ideal of man as a harmoniously and comprehensively developed subject of historical creativity, an individual to whom work for the common good is a prime vital necessity and a source of great happiness--the happiness which enhances man even further, encourages his further growth and at the same time strengthens his relations with those around him and society at large.

The soviet's teacher is the bearer of a qualitatively new awareness based on the dialectical-materialistic concept of the world and communist moral principles. At the same time, he is the mold of the same type of consciousness in the growing generations which are entering life. Related to this life through thousands of ties, in his entire comprehensive activities he proceeds from the interests of the toiling people and always feels his involvement with the cause of the communist party and the struggle for the establishment of new social relations and lofty spiritual values and against any manifestations of ideological and cultural backwardness. His conviction that through his toil he serves noble and humane objectives multiplies his energy.

In our country teaching is one of the most honored and respected professions. This is natural, for whereas in the past (and to this day outside the socialist countries) the overwhelming mass of educators willy-nilly served the class interests of the power-holding minority, while the schools were totally imbued with a spirit of social inequality, today the teachers serve exclusively the toiling people and the schools, the flesh and blood of which imbue the principles of true democracy, and are directly involved in the common cause of building communism, together with all economic and cultural sectors.

The communist party has always considered public education and school upbringing one of the structural components of its revolutionary activities. The idea that the school, education and the upbringing of the young generation are inseparable from politics and from all social life runs through many

of the works of V. I. Lenin and the outstanding leaders of the CPSU and the Soviet state. In the draft RKP(b) program the leader of the proletariat wrote that "the school must not only promote the principles of communism in general but the ideological, organizational and educational influence of the proletariat on the semiproletarian and nonproletarian toiling strata with a view to raising a generation which can definitively achieve communism" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 38, p 95).

This became possible when the teachers merged with the entire mass of working people struggling for socialism and linked their work with the tasks of the revolutionary reorganization of society. It became even more possible when new teaching cadres began to be trained from among the workers and peasants.

Along with the country's defense and the upsurge of the national economy, education became the "third front" of the young republic, aimed at consolidating the victory of the Great October Revolution. The people's teachers became the bulwark of the new system. In turn, the socialist system offered them extensive opportunities for fruitful educational activities.

The tremendous contribution of the Soviet teachers, who raised millions of literate and educated people, loyal to socialism, may be seen in the fact that the country honorably withstood the trials related to the consequences of the first world war, the civil war and the intervention, and the struggle for the establishment of the new social system, in the fact that it surmounted the difficulties related to the restoration of the national economy, the making of the cultural revolution, its industrialization and collectivization, its victory over the mortal enemy during the Great Patriotic War and, subsequently, the deployment of its constructive offensive on an even wider front. Today a socialist ideology has been firmly established in all realms of the spiritual life of our society. The broad toiling masses have been given the opportunity, as Lenin dreamed, "to make actual use of the benefits of culture, civilization and democracy" (op. cit., vol 38, p 94). Public education has grown into a powerful sector of socialist spiritual output, which is systematically undergoing a reorganization along with material production.

On the eve of the great 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR, we clearly see the great contribution of the teachers to the further enhancement of the cultural and educational standards of the Soviet people, the blossoming of science and education and the outstanding successes "in the daily work at the great construction projects." "In school terminology," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has said, "we could say that the strictest teacher--history--gave the highest grade to our country in the subject of 'public education.'"

The connection between teaching and the dedicated toil of millions of Soviet people is becoming stronger. The CPSU's instructions on the central problems of the further development of public education are being implemented. During the past 15 years the content of school training has been updated. New textbooks and school aids were created and steps were taken to upgrade the level of training and education of school students. The material and technical facilities of schools, classrooms, workshops and production-training combines were improved.

Completion of a transition to universal secondary education of the growing generation was considered by the 26th CPSU Congress an important conquest. This means that the Soviet school has entered a new development stage. The program for economic and social development adopted by the congress calls for better satisfying the country's needs for specialists and skilled workers and, to this effect, for "upgrading the efficiency in the work of all units and forms of education and cadre training.... The ways and means of labor, moral and esthetic education in the schools must be improved. More work must be done to ensure the vocational guidance of the youth. Prerequisites must be created for the gradual conversion to the training of children starting at the age of 6 in preparatory grades in general educational schools."

Nothing is more lively, endlessly changing or more flexible than teaching. Each lesson is unique and each problem resolved in class carries within it something new. That is why, by its very nature and more than any other profession, teaching requires creativity. The teacher must not only share his knowledge with the children and "teach" them something in the strict meaning of the term, but enrich their minds, which is only being molded at the point, with an awareness of higher spiritual values--the communist ideals above all--and to awaken in them the need for socially useful activity, independent discoveries, the creation of something new, and the development of an active life stance. However, in order to accomplish this the teacher must promote with the example of his own life the qualities he would like to see in his own students. He must have high ideals. He must be morally impeccable, always dissatisfied and involved, in love with his work, and steadily growing in his skill. In a word, he must offer the living example from which the children will learn not on the basis of abstract instructions but in the course of daily contacts. Whereas the specific purpose of the activity of our school is to educate the Soviet citizen, to provide a communist education, high-level consciousness, communist ideological maturity and moral beauty are the most important prerequisites for the pedagogical skills of the teacher.

The hearts of the students can be won only by those who can see in every student the good and to believe in him, those who combine in their hearts love for their subject with love for children, thus creating a bright and optimistic atmosphere in the classroom.

The sum total of school knowledge becomes truly meaningful if it is based on reliable moral foundations. The entire efforts of the educator must be focused on seeing to it that the young generation of students acquires an understanding of the essence of not only natural but social phenomena, see the heroic features of our socialist contemporaneity, be proud of the historical accomplishments of its people and become involved in their great accomplishments and, through its contribution, justify their great hopes. The task of the teacher is to use the possibilities of the school as fully as possible in ensuring the daily enrichment of the intellectual, emotional, moral and esthetic areas of the spiritual world of the school student, strengthening his faith in his own forces and raising and developing in him industriousness, collectivism, Soviet patriotism, proletarian internationalism and other features inherent in the individual of a historically new type.

V. I. Lenin emphasized that the core of the education and instruction of contemporary youth must be to develop in it communist morality (op. cit., vol 41, p 309). A communist moral awareness is the necessary pivot in the spiritual constitution of the young person. Without it no real graduation is possible.

The intensified communist focus of the entire training and education process is the main way toward improving the activities of general education schools. This is accomplished by organically combining training with education and establishing a close tie among the school, life and the practice of the building of communism. It is precisely this that has been the basis for the updated content of education over the past 15 years in accordance with party and government decisions.

The scientific and theoretical standard of school subjects is rising. Training courses are becoming more systematic. Secondary school polytechnical training is being intensified and the breakdown of the material among the different grades is being optimized. Interdisciplinary ties are becoming closer. The content of curriculae and textbooks is being coordinated. A workshop system of training with the extensive use of television and the latest technical facilities is being developed and the necessary methods are being formulated. This offers new opportunities for teachers who are trying to make their work more consistent with social and scientific and technical progress and the requirements of reality.

The fundamentals of pedagogical training are acquired in pedagogical schools and VUZs. A great deal has been accomplished in recent years to upgrade the level of pedagogical education in the country: curriculae and courses have been improved, the material and technical facilities of the schools have been expanded and the professional growth of faculties has continued. However, pedagogical schools are still being blamed for the fact that many of their alumni have poorly mastered the method and techniques of teaching, are helpless in resolving strictly educational problems, are unable to establish firm relations with the families of the students, and so on. The practical development of the educators is extremely slow and sometimes takes years. Some young specialists are not trained for doing educational work in the schools. References to insufficient "natural gifts," or "special capabilities" (and hence the full concept of the "search for talent" rather than the purposeful development of talent) are scientifically groundless. The essence of the matter lies elsewhere. To begin with, there is no effective mechanism for vocational guidance in the schools and a considerable percentage of young people in pedagogical schools apparently had not defined their vocation and objective in life, while VUZ training is considered a formal acquisition of a special skill. Secondly, education is essentially based on "purely" scientific disciplines while insufficient attention is paid to practical pedagogical courses. The teaching of education itself--the main science of the teacher--still leaves something better to be desired. To this day education courses frequently offer obsolete views on the principles and forms of organization of the training and education process in the schools, disparities in the concepts of training and education methods are not eliminated, new approaches to basic problems of theory and practice are not

studied, and the students are insufficiently acquainted with modern basic studies in the field of education and with progressive pedagogical experience. Consequently, the graduates of pedagogical institutes and schools turn out to be poorly prepared for work in the schools and for the successful solution of the new complex problems of training and education. They become confused the moment they meet difficulties, lose their love for their work and poorly master professional skills.

Without waiting for the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences eventually to submit to them their recommendations, some VUZs undertake creative research themselves and find practical solutions. Thus, as a result of a 5-year study, a practical science program entitled "The Teacher" was drafted at the Pedagogical Institute imeni V. G. Korolenko in Poltava. It includes the organization of an expert selection of seniors, the creation of a 3-year training network (starting with the eighth grade) of students showing an inclination for pedagogical work, based on a special program entitled "The Future Teacher," developed in Poltava Oblast; the drafting of a program for a special course on "Foundations of Pedagogical Skill" (150 hours); student pedagogical practice in a general education experimental school run by the institute by decision of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers. The initial results of the implementation of this program are expected in 1984.

"Our task is not to allow 'faulty goods,'" says Doctor of Philosophical Sciences I. Zyazyun, the institute's rector. "We must train the future teacher in such a way that he may work with enthusiasm and creatively...." When we study the work of progressive and talented educators in our country we see that their main feature is their high level of pedagogical skill, the ability to unite student collectives and to develop a positive attitude toward the personality of the teacher and only then toward the subject he teaches. No other way is possible in the field of education.

The experience of the leading pedagogical VUZs in the country and of the higher schools as a whole proves that it is only by combining the latest achievements in psychology and pedagogy with the practical work of the students, directed by master educators, and by using the entire set of ways and means of curricular and extracurricular work, that a modern skilled teacher and educator can be trained successfully.

The activities of the institutes for the advancement of teachers have improved somewhat in recent years. Their purpose is to become the centers of scientific-methodical work with all categories of educators in schools and extracurricular and preschool institutions. They must apply more daringly active forms of training and encourage and sum up more extensively progressive pedagogical experience.

While recognizing the extensive work which the method workers are doing in the advancement institutes, we must admit that school teachers and principals are not given at the courses offered by such institutes practical and scientifically substantiated advice on how to upgrade the quality of training and education, to eliminate formalism and the overloading of teachers and students and to reorganize the training and education process in accordance

with contemporary requirements. No such answers may be found in scientific-pedagogical or other publications. Generally speaking, the school workers are short of publications which would contribute to mass pedagogical creative work. The offering of courses for teacher retraining during the summer is controversial, for within that period of time no possibility exists to study the practical pedagogical achievements in various areas.

In the school the teacher does not work alone. He is a member of the school collective which is a complex social organism the activities of which play a determining role in achieving successes in education. It is the school principal above all who is responsible for the ideological-moral and creative atmosphere in the school and for maintaining a healthy psychological microclimate. Equally responsible is the organization of the party members, which cements the integrity of the collective and is concerned with the condition of political and educational work among teachers and with their professional and overall cultural growth, which maintains the high moral tone among the teachers and provides party control of administrative activities.

The school principal is not merely an administrator but a teacher of teachers, the "conductor" of a most complex "orchestra," concerned with a great variety of different tasks ranging from repairs, "writing off" materials and instruments, and so on, to direct participation in the pedagogical process. Unfortunately, his work must be made considerably more efficient. As a rule, it is the best teachers who are appointed school principals. However, absorbed in economic concerns and office work (every year the school receives from various directival authorities as many as 280 orders, instructions and demands), they frequently lose their pedagogical skills.

In this connection we must turn to progressive experience. Thus, Moldavia has a decree issued by the republic's council of ministers on the organization of special administrations in charge of economic services under the public education departments of rural rayons. Each such administration has a bookkeeper, a capital construction section (whose duties are to supervise the condition of school buildings and contract with construction and repair workers), a procurement section (in charge of inventory, school aids and, in a word, the numerous petty matters which are a constant bother to school principals), and files. This has made it possible to relieve the school manager from economic concerns. It is high time for the USSR Ministry of Education to pay attention to problems related to centralizing services to schools, for such experience has been available for the past 10 years!

Streamlining the activities of school principals, familiarizing them with the latest achievements in the fields of education, psychology and progressive experience, and improving the management of their work by public education departments is what is needed in order to upgrade the efficiency of the work of faculties and individual teachers. In this case science, so-called "school science," must have a say. Alas, the scientists frequently fail to justify expectations. Furthermore, their "recommendations" sometimes even increase the load and the complexity of an already difficult school life. This leads to the creation of all kinds of reports, plans, charts,

"accounts," or "models." ... The joint decree "On the Rational Use of the Time of Teachers and School Principals," which was passed by the USSR Ministry of Education and the Central Committee of Education, Higher School and Scientific Institutions Workers Trade Union, sensibly condemns all kinds of bureaucratic excesses in planning and accounting for the work of general education schools. The local party organs must reliably remove anything which hinders normal school operations.

The organization of pedagogical work itself must be rationalized. "The main feature today," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said at the 26th CPSU Congress, "is to upgrade the quality of training and labor and moral upbringing in the school, to eliminate formalism in assessing the results of the work of teachers and students, and actually strengthen the links between education and life and to improve the training of school students for socially useful labor. Naturally, the teacher plays a decisive role in this respect. We should not save on the attention which must be paid to his work, way of life and enhanced skills. However, the requirements facing his work also become stricter." The party congress also pointed out that the quality of curriculae and textbooks must be improved, for they are excessively complex. This hinders training and increases unfairly the students' load. The congress recommended to the USSR Ministry of Education and USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences to correct this situation without delay.

Judging by teachers' statements published in the central press and letters received by our editors, this recommendation is being implemented with excessive slowness.

It is true that the USSR Ministry of Education letter "On Additional Measures to Surmount Formalism in Assessing the Results of the Work of Teachers and Students" includes the essential admission that "however, the public education organs and school principals demand of the teachers the strict application of strictly defined ways and means of work, ignoring the teachers' training, experience and individual characteristics, or the specific working conditions and features of the students. There is a tendency excessively to regulate the activities of school principals and teachers, which limits their creative searches and the right to select organizational ways, means and methods of work which would be optimal under specific sets of circumstances." However, the letter does not include any radical measures or practical recommendations to subordinate authorities on the elimination of formalism.

Meanwhile, the teachers are waiting. They are waiting for the eventual elimination of the overload affecting them and the students, in violation of pedagogical standards, waiting to be relieved from official accountability and for being no longer judged according to the grades they give their students, waiting for the elimination of the notorious percentage, waiting for the traditional form of organization of the training process to stop influencing the content and quality of training, waiting to be rescued from endless formal noneducational duties.

The question of the optimal volume of study material has been raised for many years but a scientific answer to it is still lacking. However, this prevents

the teacher from using his professional possibilities properly. Furthermore, no complete clarity exists in the content of the school subjects and even in the choice of such subjects. The polemics on some spontaneously developed subjects (still largely selected on the basis of empirical experience and isolated theoretical considerations), without an overall scientific concept of the sum total of knowledge consistent with the purpose of universal secondary education at the present stage, can lead to nothing other than formal answers and palliative solutions.

The possibility of improving the training process by reducing the size of the classes, increasing the role of teachers of specific subjects and intensifying training within the framework of the traditional school process have been actually exhausted. Specialists are comprehensively studying the class-homework form of organization of the training process which developed 300-400 years ago and, despite all the improvements made to it from time to time, has essentially remained unchanged. Its advantages are universally familiar: organizational accuracy and efficiency of the pedagogical process and the ideological and emotional influence of the teacher on the students in the classroom. However, under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution and the transition from socialism to communism, this is no longer adequate, for it is necessary above all to give the students the opportunity to work according to their capabilities and to achieve not low or average but superior results and to gain the habits of collective work. N. K. Krupskaya herself pointed out the tremendous pedagogical value of the reciprocal children's training: "Every student must be both a student and a teacher." The VKP(b) Central Committee decree "On Curriculae and the System in Primary and Secondary Schools" (1932), the purpose of which was to eliminate distortions in schoolwork, which existed at that time, and which accepted as the basic method of organization of this work the lesson taught by a group of students on the basis of a strict schedule and permanent student groups, pointed out that "in this case collective forms of schoolwork must be comprehensively developed and the organization of permanent and mandatory brigades should be avoided."

The innovations introduced by progressive teachers and scientists are aimed at increasing active mental work by the students, comprehensively developing independent studies and applying collective school training. They are consistent with the very logic of historical development of school training under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution and mature socialism. Broadening the organizational foundations of the training and education process not only favors all-round education improvements but strengthens the leading role of the teacher and helps him in his creative efforts.

Naturally, each individual experience bears the imprint of the individuality of its author and local characteristics. Other teachers, who study such experience, adopt and subsequently apply it in their own way. New situations inevitably require new solutions. We can only agree with the view of M. Prokof'yev, USSR minister of education, to the effect that as a result of the development of creative initiative "a complex problem arises--the ability to include the findings of individual teachers within the overall system of the training and education process."

The exceptionally sensitive reaction of the teachers to any innovation suggested by any one of them is understandable. The education authorities must encourage the practical proving of the merits of educational innovations. They must eliminate thinking inertia and the conservatism of existing methods. More than anywhere else, in this case we need communist principled-mindedness. It is entirely inadmissible for some senior workers in public education to display a bureaucratic-indifferent attitude toward pedagogical successes which have become widely known in broad teaching circles.

Innovations are persistently knocking at school doors. At his work place, the practical teacher feels more acutely the changing situation and realizes more clearly the need to coordinate education accordingly, compared with the ivory tower scientist or the ministry official.

Of late the problem of combining training with productive labor, pointed out by the founders of scientific communism themselves (see K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 16, pp 197-198; vol 19, p 31; V. I. Lenin, op. cit., vol 2, p 485). Its proper solution will determine the further successes in shaping the new man or, in other words, the very future of the building of communism.

A great deal has been achieved in the labor upbringing of the Soviet youth. However, positive results should not lead us to ignore shortcomings which have become particularly tangible in universal secondary education. The classroom-homework method of exposing the students to work is unconvincing. The organization of production practice at school is imperfect. A gap develops: on the one hand there is enthusiasm for the "intellectualization" of education and overloading the curriculae with theoretical material; on the other, production labor and practical experience are underestimated. As we know, the children themselves try to participate in the activities of adults. A good tradition has developed in the country: seniors helping in agricultural work. However, frequently some oblast and rayon workers involve school students in pedagogically unjustified and not strictly regulated work, which harms not only classwork but labor upbringing itself. We must rigidly restrict interference in school affairs on the part of administrative and economic outside organs, whose measures disturb the normal rhythm of the training process. Such violations prevent teachers from carrying out their obligations and adversely affect students. The party organs must supervise this problem.

The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Further Improving the Training and Education of Students in General Educational Schools and Their Training for Labor" (1977) stipulates the following: "the need for a decisive turn of the school toward improving the training of young people for work in material production and substantiated choice of profession must be profoundly realized by Soviet teachers, students and their parents." This equally applies to the personnel of public education organs and scientific-pedagogical institutions. The teachers expect of them efficient aid in resolving most important problems. So far, as acknowledged by the leading personnel in the educational system themselves, there is neither a theory nor a method for the labor development of school students. The level of

efficiency of labor education in most schools is inconsistent with the requirements of the economy and social development; the knowledge acquired is not consolidated through expedient efforts; general educational and labor training are offered on a parallel basis and even hinder each other from absence of time coordination. "...In education," says S. Batyshev, academic secretary of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, "we continue to stumble on words and be guided by formal stipulations rather than by the meaning and principles governing polytechnical training in Soviet schools."

Teachers-innovators and progressive school principals have begun to resolve this topical problem by establishing direct relations with production enterprises. An excellent example of this is found, among others, in the experience of many rural schools which have set up student production brigades, thousands of which may be found in the country currently. The members of such brigades do not play at working. Millions of agricultural workers have acquired real labor training here. School students in the brigades participate in farmwork and, along with their elders, struggle for high and stable crops and set up experimental sectors. Combining training with work to the extent of their possibilities, the members of student production brigades, guided by teachers and instructors, undergo their initial training in labor. Here they gain a feeling of high responsibility for assignments, display comradely mutual aid, initiative and native wit. They master the foundations of agrotechnical knowledge, progressive experience and modern equipment and acquire the habit of participating in the socialist competition. The educators organize in the brigades the sensible recreation of the students and create the necessary conditions for cultural relaxation, sports and hiking. "The dedicated work of organizers and tutors in student production brigades deserves comprehensive approval and support," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has pointed out.

The convincing experience of the best pedagogical collectives indicates an effective alternative in labor education strategy: training with production labor, even using the elements of cost-effectiveness, must be organically combined from the very first school years to the senior grade. The teachers must master the scientific and technical principles of contemporary production work and use them in the training and education of the young generation. The mandatory nature of the organizational, material and technical and methodical intensification of this vitally important project is entirely obvious. It offers wide scope for innovation.

The problem can be successfully resolved only by eliminating contradictions between obsolete methods in managing public education and the latest pedagogical experience. The teachers must be relieved from the burden of many external encrustations. The main reasons for most disparities which hinder the progress of the school process must be removed. New ways and means must be introduced and its organizational foundations must be broadened. The working day of the student and the teacher must be normalized and formalism, eye washing and pursuit of passing grades must be removed.

The prestige of the teaching profession must be enhanced, something on which Lenin insisted (op. cit., vol 45, pp 365-366). The qualitative structure of education cadres must be improved and the percentage of men in teaching faculties must be increased.

The school administration system was developed during the first five-year plans and at that time was entirely consistent with cultural construction tasks. Today, however, it has expanded. It has become cumbersome and inflexible, and many of its features are inconsistent with modern requirements. The 26th party congress emphasized that improvements in management organizational structures tolerate no sluggishness and that a live and developing economic management organism should not be adapted to surviving customary forms. Conversely, it is the forms that must be made consistent with changing economic tasks. This fully and totally applies to the system of public education administration, which must truly contribute to mass pedagogical creativity. Not only individual teachers and isolated innovators but the pedagogical staffs of schools, rayons and oblasts must become progressive. This precisely represents true management of the quality and efficiency of the training-education process consistent with the vital requirements of social progress.

Specific suggestions formulated by specialists and published in the press or described at scientific meetings deserve a thoughtful approach. Thus, the suggestion made by Ya. Beregovoy, who developed the experience and ideas of S. T. Shatskiy on the new education management structure, at the All-Union Conference on the Development of Production Forces in Siberia (Novosibirsk, 1980) was received with interest. It considers scientific-production pedagogical associations as the main link of the system. It calls for a reorganization and simplification of the functional departmental mechanism and reduces its controlling and auditing apparatus. It links within a single system preschool, school, extracurricular, VUZ and research institutions and merges secondary school with professional education.

The study of the tremendous possibilities offered by the party's course of reorganization of national economic management leads to the idea that the experience acquired in this area, together with the entire previous experience in Soviet public education, will enable us to find a solution which, after properly organized open discussion and experimentation, could be considered acceptable and entirely consistent with the level of social and economic development reached by our society.

The people's teacher is a great power in our society. He resolves one of the main problems in building communism, and the requirements he faces are becoming stricter. At the same time, the general responsibility increases to provide him with everything necessary for the successful implementation of his honorable mission and the further enhancement of his professional and social prestige. The upbringing and education of the young builders of communism is a nationwide project in which the teacher plays the main role. The Soviet people and the communist party have no doubt as to his further creative successes.

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TOGETHER WITH THE ENTIRE COUNTRY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 82 pp 13-21

[Article by B. Danilov, lathe turner and gauge maker, inventor]

[Text] The entire land of the soviets is preparing for the outstanding event--the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR. Newspapers and radio and television are currently carrying out a large number of materials describing the heroic path covered by our multinational homeland. Reading them, I unwittingly thought of how closely intertwined our destinies have become--the fate of the workers, of the people of the senior generations--and the events experienced by the country over the past decades. We grew up, strengthened and matured together with our fatherland. The fatherland shaped and tempered our characters. It helped us to master knowledge and skills and, standing on our feet, and entering our careers, we tried to dedicate our entire filial duties to the homeland.

We had a difficult childhood. From a tender age I knew both hunger and cold. My father died in the civil war, fighting the White Guards. My brother and sister also died then from hunger, while Mother and I moved from the starving Povolzh'ye to Petrograd.

I have virtually no recollection of the events at the start of the 1920s, but still clearly remember how one winter evening streetcars and automobiles suddenly stopped and plant sirens began to bellow and the locomotive engines to whistle. We, children, were puzzled. I asked a passerby, what was the matter? He answered seriously, as to an adult: "Lenin died...." I already knew about Lenin and somehow felt with my entire being that something bad, something irreparable had taken place....

On the advice of my stepfather, who was an electrician at the Plant imeni Ya. M. Sverdlov, without even completing the ninth grade, I entered the recently opened vocational school which trained fitters and lathe workers--instrument makers. I attended its 4-year course and completed my secondary education with a rather high grade--grade 5--of the then 8-grade rating system.

After graduation, together with my comrade lathe turners, I went to work at the instruments shops of the Plants imeni Ya. M. Sverdlov, Krasnyy, Oktyabr' (formerly a plant belonging to the Renault Company) and other Vyborg enterprises. These were the old Petersburg plants famous for their labor and revolutionary traditions. Already then some of them, such as Arsenal and the

Metallurgical Plant, were more than a century old. I recall the enthusiasm with which we worked. We sometimes worked without leaving the plant for several days running, then rested for 2 or 3 days and resumed work. At that time to be a turner was just about the most prestigious profession in industry.

It was in worker collectives that I received the first lessons in class self-awareness. The native Leningraders considered being a worker an honor. They were proud of it and lived up to it under all circumstances. It is from them that we, the young, learned civic maturity. Our feeling of civic and labor responsibility was particularly well-developed. The country had entered the period of industrialization and tremendous changes were taking place in the countryside as well. We welcomed as a holiday news of the completion of new construction projects on the Dnepr, the Volga, the desert of Turkestan, the Magnitka Mountains, and other sites in our vast homeland.

And how proud we were as we heard reports on setting labor records, on daring flights and unheard-of expeditions! I remember our enthusiasm with which we welcomed in Leningrad the rescued members of the Chelyuskin expedition and the heroes of the Papanin expedition, which had returned from the first polar station on the North Pole. The polar heroes traveled on the "Krasin" icebreaker. It was the end of the winter and the Gulf of Finland was frozen. The arrival of the ship was expected in Leningrad at noon on Sunday. My first cousin suggested to me and a few other comrades to be the first to welcome the icebreaker on the ice. Getting up at 3 am, we skated on the Neva and some 20 kilometers on the bay and saw from afar the ship, huge for its time, as it broke the meter-thick ice, sailing toward the city. We were noted from the icebreaker, people started waving their hats and we skated on the ice almost by the side of the icebreaker to the very estuary of the Neva.

The heroic flights of the crews of Chkalov and Gromov to America across the North Pole triggered in us equal enthusiasm and pride in our homeland. We admired the courage of our outstanding fliers, the talent of the aerospace designers headed by A. N. Tupolev and the skill of the workers and engineers who were designing airplanes such as the "ANT-25."

A number of significant events took place in the 1930s, which I and my fellow workers experienced with the rest of the country. At that time I frequently saw Sergey Mironovich Kirov from a close distance. He frequently visited the large plants in Leningrad and, naturally, those on the Vyborg side. The leader of the Leningrad party members found time to visit sports grounds and was a great soccer fan.

We were proud of our new motor vehicles, rolling mills and tractors. I still recall the enthusiasm generated by the first Soviet television broadcasts I saw. At that time I was working at the experimental plant of the Telemechanics Institute. It was precisely here that the small twinkling screens, not bigger than matchboxes, were created. Tiny human figures moved and danced, talked and sang. To us--both workers and engineers--this seemed almost like a miracle, our Soviet miracle and, to a certain extent, something created with our own hands.

The shock work movement, followed by the Stakhanovite movement, played a tremendous role in our civic development and shaping of profound patriotic feelings. At first we were simply amazed and could not even believe that a norm could be fulfilled by 1,400 percent! Naturally, some of our turners could fulfill 1.5-2 norms, with difficulty at that. But to fulfill the norm by a factor of 14 seemed incredible!

For a long time the Stakhanovite movement did not extend to metal processing. In 1937 Aleksey Grigor'yevich Stakhanov, the initiator of the famous initiative, came to the Pnevmatika Plant, where I worked. At that time the enterprise was manufacturing jackhammers and drilling machines for mining. Stakhanov's trip was not accidental: the quality of the jackhammers left something better to be desired, while drilling machines were produced in the country only by our plant, which was the only enterprise of its kind.

I shall not forget Stakhanov's discussion with the workers on the possibility of improving the quality and power of the jackhammers. He visited us too at the instruments shop. He spoke simply and joked with the workers. Matters progressed: first timidly and then ever more widely the Stakhanovite movement began to develop in machine building.

At that time far from every instrument maker dared to follow Stakhanov's example. I still remember my instructors, turners P. Khudozhnikov at the Elektroapparat plant and M. Koptelov at Pirometr. They were the first to announce in LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA, that they will fulfill their daily norm 3,500 percent. They kept to their word! Some days P. Khudozhnikov fulfilled his norm even 4,000 percent! Violating prerevolutionary traditions, these workers revealed their secrets to the others and gave the homeland their entire knowledge and truly splendid skills. LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA reported on their amazing work on a daily basis. They were awarded the Honor Badge Order. I was very proud that my fellow workers included true Stakhanovites who, as in mining, were daringly advancing instrument manufacturing. I was able to reach my cherished dream of becoming eighth-grade turner only with the help of great specialists such as P. Shvedov, P. Khudozhnikov and M. Koptelov.

Before that, however, on five different occasions I had to submit a so-called sample. I prepared myself carefully for each such occasion, spending sleepless nights and seeking the advice of my good teachers and, amazingly, passed the test. At the beginning of 1941 I was awarded the eighth grade and thus became one of the "kings," as the highly qualified workers and real masters of their work were then known. I spent 8 long years to achieve this. I was proud to be a turner-gauge maker and knew that I would never betray my profession.

New splendid equipment was being received by the plants, the variety of output was increasing and so were wages. Life in the country was becoming substantially better organized.

However, the war broke out.... This was a test of our feeling of duty and Soviet patriotism. At my plant specialists in my field were not being drafted. However, no such "reservations" could restrain us. Virtually all

plant workers volunteered to serve the very first day of the war and were very happy to be recruited..... No more than 10 days later, still untrained and unpracticed, we went into battle. On 1 July 1941 our machine-gun company of the volunteers division of Petrogradskiy Rayon was already fighting the fascists between Kingisepp and Luga. The enemy was rushing toward Lenin's city. Our company ranks were diminishing quickly. Loudspeakers had been installed on vehicles of Hitler's "Skull and Bones" tank division, which was facing us. They shouted in Russian, "Volunteers, surrender! Leningrad is kaput!" But the volunteers did not surrender. I recall the political instructor in our company, Senior Lieutenant Mariya Karpacheva, who taught in a Leningrad school. She was a slim delicate woman who to us, machine gunners, was a model of striking courage and endurance. Although shell-shocked, for almost 6 months she performed the duties of the company commander, who had been killed in battle, and political instructor, without leaving her comrades for a single day. We learned from her daring, courage, the ability to resolve any situation, even a hopeless one, and unbreakable hatred for the enemy.

During the terrible months of the blockade the workers who had not gone to the front, from the very first days of the war, despite the bitter cold and hunger, tirelessly operated their machine tools and shops under enemy artillery fire. The reason they had not gone to the front was that after the first wave of volunteers the plant's management no longer gave its permission, for it had become clear that everyone wanted to defend the city but someone had to hammer out the weapons for victory.

Our state is multinational. During the blockade we felt particularly strongly the great power of the friendship among fraternal nations. I still remember the tears in the people's eyes listening to the radio broadcasting the poetry of Dzhambul, the Kazakh people's poet: "The people of Leningrad are my children, the people of Leningrad are my pride!"

Kazakhstan and the other fraternal republics supplied with food the besieged city. At the front our thinned company was reinforced by troops from many nationalities: in addition to native Leningraders, we had soldiers from the Ukraine, the Caucasus, Belorussia and Central Asia. When I was wounded and was lying on a hospital bed, next to me were Uzbeks, Tajiks and Abkhazians. We were all friends, and we were all defending the fatherland together, shoulder to shoulder.

My mother and all my relatives died in Leningrad from hunger and artillery fire. My wife and son alone survived. They were evacuated along the "road to life" to Bashkiriya, half-dead. There they were helped to regain their health. Ukrainians and Belorussians, or anyone else who was forced to leave his native area, was welcomed in the other republics equally warmly.

Under the conditions of blockaded Leningrad heroism was a commonplace phenomenon. The people reached such peaks of human spirit and self-sacrifice that surpassed the imagination. I saw with my own eyes many heroic exploits at the front and learned about the heroism of those who worked at Leningrad enterprises after the war. I was impressed by the special patriotic feeling, firm inflexibility and loyalty to civic duty displayed by Yevgeniy Savich, a

milling machine operator, who subsequently became a close friend of mine. He worked at the Kirov plant and, after the first winter of the blockade, was still miraculously alive. He did not leave the plant, he slept on an iron cot in a corner. At one point, parts which required particularly precise machining were brought in. The shop chief asked for Savich, who was lying on his cot. He opened his eyes and quietly said: "Help me to stand up, I am quite weak." Leaning on the shoulder of Zhora Aleksandrov, the Komsomol organizer, who could barely stand on his own feet, Yevgeniy dragged himself to the machine tool. When the necessary preparations for the first part were made, he turned on the lathe and said: "Support me, or I will fall." The boys kept him standing on his feet while he did the boring operations. He had to be carried back to his bed, after which he was taken to a hospital.

I found out about Savich in 1946, from KIROVETS, the plant's newspaper, in which I read that "order bearer Yevgeniy Savich, who has mastered equally to perfection the skills of boring, cutting, turning and milling, has pledged to fulfill his 2-year program by the 29th anniversary of the October Revolution and kept his word."

The qualities which Soviet worker Yevgeniy Savich possessed were excellent skills, exceptional conscientiousness in his work, love for the homeland and inflexible faith in victory.

Far later, assigned to Czechoslovakia, a translator read to me the following note in the newspaper RUDE PRAVO: "The milling workers know very well that several operations are required when handling a vertical milling machine. The tools have to be changed with each operation and this takes a lot of time. Imagine, however, if you are told that this is not necessary. A person comes to you, puts on his overalls, and says: 'Comrades, I will now show you how this is done.' The first 'miracle' is a general-purpose chuck, which this man has brought in his small suitcase. The other 'miracle' is the perfect use made of all the possibilities of the machine tool. These operations were performed by Russian milling worker Savich 10 times faster than usual and the quality was excellent."

You will agree that amazing Czechoslovak turners, who are just about the most skillful in Europe, is no simple matter! Yevgeniy Savich shared his experience and did not boast of his skill. The Czechoslovak radio and television rapidly spread the news of the Russian milling operator. In his subsequent visits to plants his fame preceded him. At railroad stations, as a rule, he was welcomed by crowds headed by the mayor, greeting him with "Glory to labor!"

It was precisely then that I met him. I met Yevgeniy in Prague prior to his return to the homeland. The hotel room in which Savich stayed was literally covered with gifts from workers and managers of Czech enterprises for the goodness and generosity with which he unraveled the secrets of his skill to his foreign comrades. Yevgeniy argued with me: "Take something with you to Moscow, what will I do with all this?" I could understand his difficulty, for an entire freight car would have been needed to carry all the gifts, yet leaving them behind would have been an insult to the comrades.

All of this, however, happened later. Before that there were 900 days and nights of blockade and war.

After the breaching of the blockade, in 1944, I returned to my plant from the hospital in the Urals, which I had left for the front 3 years back. I learned the sad news that only one of all workers-machine gunners had come back to the plant--Viktor Isakov. I was the second. Viktor came without hands while I came with maimed legs. I came to my native city on crutches, second-group invalid, knowing nothing of the fate of my friends and relatives. It was then, during the hardest period in my life which, it seemed to me, was to end alone, as an invalid, that I felt particularly strongly the warmth and fraternity which had been developed in our state for decades. I found responsiveness and involvement, and the desire to help in dozens and hundreds of people. I was helped to trace my wife and son in distant Bashkiriya and concern was shown for my treatment and housing.

Responsive and good-hearted people exist everywhere but it still seems to me that no one is more responsive than a Leningrader who experienced the blockade. I shall never forget the support which my plant's collective gave me. I was unable to operate the lathe and was given young boys to train. It turned out that I could be useful. I would not have left Leningrad for anything in the world had I been healthy. The physicians categorically insisted on a change of climate.

The people at the personnel department of the Znamya Truda machine-building plant in Moscow, where I had decided to apply, were pleased to know that I was an instrument specialist but apprehensively looked at my leg and crutches. Answering their unasked question, I told them that I would adapt a turning stool to the machine tool and would be working sitting down. After the war there were virtually no grade specialists and I was hired. Eager to do real work, I plunged into most complex assignments. I wore my soldier's blouse and replaced my crutches with a cane. The workers treated me well and kept exclaiming: "That soldier is really producing!" At that time the level of skill reached by Leningrad machine tool operators was higher than in Moscow and I was pleased to be able to share with my new comrades the secrets of the skill of the Leningrad "kings." I was under the care of the physicians in the plant's medical department No 15--B. Kulikov, front-line surgeon and former commander of a medical battalion, and therapist V. Mironova. With their proper help I soon regained my health and could firmly stand on both legs.

Frankly speaking, at that time the sharing of experience was poorly organized. The Leningrad turning methods were considered at the plant unusual. Turners in other shops and in neighboring enterprises found out about me. They found out that before the war I was one of the "kings." In 1961 MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA published the article "Danilov is Sharing His Treasury," in which my modest activities in the dissemination of progressive experience were described.

Shortly afterwards I began to feel that in Moscow as well I was surrounded by well-wishing people and friends and began to feel very much at home in the capital. Incidentally, it was precisely the Muscovites who gave me a second

skill--journalism. Initially, I timidly tried my skill in the journal MASHINOSTROITEL', after which I continued to write and had the honor of being frequently published in PRAVDA and KOMMUNIST. I then began to write books and have already written five. Naturally, I became neither a journalist nor a writer. I developed another passion which, once again, I could not indulge in without support.

Somehow, imperceptibly, I became involved in rationalization work in the 1950s. After submitting and applying about 100 rationalization proposals, I turned to inventions or, in officialese, toward "new technical solutions of problems such as to enhance the existing technological level." Naturally, at that time I was not thinking of any type of invention whatsoever. It was simply that a new idea came to me dictated by the necessity of the work. I was able to invent and develop an entirely new tool never used before. At that time VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA wrote that "...Danilov's new instrument is unusual. It increases labor productivity in a number of turning operations by a factor of 30. Letters and telegrams requesting blueprints began to arrive from Moscow plants, Leningrad, Kiev, Sverdlovsk and Tashkent. The instrument was then mentioned abroad. In congratulating B. F. Danilov for his creative victory, Errmann, manager of the 'FEB Freiburger Prezisions Mechanick,' sent the following request: 'We would be very grateful to you if you could send us such a tool, for we are interested in increasing labor productivity.' The invention of this Moscow worker began to be used in the GDR, Hungary, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, China and Romania. The instrument developed by party member Danilov is traveling around the world."

It was roughly during that time that the Moscow Council of Innovators was set up, which I chaired for 4 years, after which I became a member of the Central Council of VOIR [All-Union Society of Inventors and Rationalizers].

It was actually then that I became familiar with many cities in our country and with colleagues-innovators in all-union republics and virtually all autonomous republics. This marked the beginning of trips for experience sharing in the course of which I became increasingly familiar with the lives, traditions and customs of people of different nationalities. Eventually I covered the entire country, from Brest to Vladivostok and from Arkhangel'sk to Baku.

The Moscow innovators demonstrated their inventions and developments at hundreds of plants in the cities of the Russian Federation, the Ukraine, Moldavia, Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Kazakhstan, Georgia and Armenia. At the same time, specialists from different ethnic groups came to see us in Moscow.

During that period life truly awarded me the acquaintanceship and friendship of many outstanding people whose talent is worthy of admiration.

I maintain close creative contacts with Ukrainian innovator Aleksey Kharitonovich Druz. He has had an interesting life. In the 1920s, as a youngster, he ran away from home, reached Odessa, and became a stowaway in a ship going to America. After many adventures he found a job at the world-famous Edison plant. He worked at the enterprise as a turner for 20 years

and developed a liking for inventions. Following Edison's death, Druz went to the Soviet embassy and asked to be allowed to return to the homeland. Back in Kiev, he generously shared the secrets of his skill and highly productive machine-tool work. In his last working years he taught machine knowledge at the Kiev Polytechnical Institute. He is retired now but has not abandoned inventions.

The parents of my Belorussian friend planer Leonid Potapovich were peasants. He, however, "reinforcing" the ranks of the working class, became its worthy member. His entire career has been a steady search for the new. The number of rationalization suggestions he has submitted and which have been applied exceed 180, with savings totaling in excess of 1 million rubles. I was not astounded in the least when Potapovich was awarded the S. I. Vavilov Academic Gold Medal, which is usually presented to scientists for scientific works.

Indeed, many innovators are worthy of becoming the subject of outstanding and exciting books. Such is the case of Latvian worker Voldemar Bush. This milling worker is the author of such a large number of inventions that they could do honor to an entire scientific research institute. Young people can learn a great deal from such men. For many years I have maintained creative relations with Druz, Bush, Potapovich and innovators in other union republics. Although they are different in terms of character, customs and views, they have a great deal in common. This applies above all to their high civic-mindedness and aspiration to dedicate all their forces and knowledge to the homeland.

I have been a factory worker for more than half a century. I can clearly see the growth and progress made by the working person during that time. When I began my career, initially I stood out among my fellow workers, for I was a graduate of a 10th-grade school and a special school, while at that time most machine tools were manned by people who were no more than grammar school graduates as were my first instructors at work. Although they were talented, they were not strong in computations. They were extremely skillful. However, they frequently lacked general education knowledge. Today's young workers, however, can discuss foreign policy, enjoy the opera, show their knowledge in sports and are able to substantiate their socialist pledges economically.

I am sometimes amazed at how comprehensive is the world of interests and enthusiasms of today's Soviet worker. Let us take as an example the Kirov plant in Leningrad, which I know well. Its workers use their leisure time in a variety of ways. Some write poetry, others are musicians, painters, athletes, actors, book and stamp collectors, hunters, fishers, or art lovers. Many among them are like me, "carried away" by the search for new technologies and involved in innovation work.

The current scope reached by innovation is striking. Millions of people in our country are workers-rationalizers. Industrialization, which has changed the appearance of all union and autonomous republics, prepared the ground for the shaping of new detachments of innovators. During the first five-year plans rationalizers were few. In the 1970s technical creativity among workers increased immeasurably. They daringly penetrate engineering

technology and assist in the technical progress of our homeland with their rationalization suggestions. Today in our country one rationalization suggestion is registered every 7 seconds. The annual economic results of such rationalizations total about 4 billion rubles.

During the first five-year plans the opinion prevailed that inventions were exclusively the work of scientists and most experienced engineers. Today our leading workers in technical creativity are marching in step with famous scientists. Occasionally they undertake to resolve most complex problems. I have friends-innovators who are the authors of dozens of inventions. They include the Ukrainian turner Vitaliy Seminskiy, from the Kiev Krasnyy Ekskavator Production Association, with 20 inventions and Nikolay Vasil'yev, fitter at the Vibrator Plant in Leningrad, author of 29 inventions. He is the head of a worker laboratory in which experienced engineers, technologists and designers and the most skilled workers in the enterprise work under his guidance.

A characteristic feature of today's worker is his curiosity, his desire for research and his constant self-advancement. These qualities are inherent in all of my students, of which I have had more than 30. They include Russians, Ukrainians, Belorussians and Armenians. As a rule, they have been zealous students who have mastered quickly the fine points of turning. Their lives have taken different turns. My ex-student Safiulla Nurimanov became a turner-gauge maker of the highest grade. Machine-tool worker Lyudmila Khodova graduated from the evening school institute, enrolled in postgraduate studies and is currently writing her dissertation. Valentin Moiseyev, another one of my students, became interested in rationalization and subsequently became an inventor. The instruments he developed were adopted by the State Standards as the best for the sector. Not so long ago, together with Doctor of Medical Sciences A. Kaydash, the head surgeon at the Institute imeni A. V. Vishnevskiy, Moiseyev developed new instruments for heart surgery. Just think, side by side with a famous scientist, my Val'ka is successfully fighting to save human lives! I had the occasion to attend one of his lectures to Moscow Secondary School seniors. About 200 people were present. Valentin began his lecture with the sudden question:

"Kids, would anyone here like to be a movie actor?"

The students smiled and virtually all hands went up. The next question was who wanted to be a machine tool operator. Only two hands went up, somewhat hesitantly.

"Well," Moiseyev said. "Thank you for your honesty. And now listen to what I have to say about my profession."

He spoke in such an interesting way that the youngsters in the hall held their breath. Even I, who had spent half a century behind machine tools, found his comparison between the work of the turner and the creativity of the sculptor, who takes a bit of marble and turns it into a work of art, removing everything that is unnecessary and embodying in it his artistic intention. The youngsters learned a great number of interesting facts from Valentin, who

was able to show them unexpected features of the turner's skill by proving how creative this work can be. At the end of the speech, one of the seniors smilingly asked how could one nevertheless become a movie actor.

"These two professions are compatible," Moiseyev answered. "I know that the Central Television is currently completing a feature film in color 'Let Me Say That....' It is a picture on working people--people who have become the true masters of their country. The characters play themselves. The entire cast consists of turners, fitters, millers, casting workers, and labor innovators and leading workers. These are workers famous not only at home but abroad for their great accomplishments and outstanding skills. Many among you could become such movie actors, so that there is something to think about when you choose careers...."

Speaking of the new film, Moiseyev did not mention his own participation in it. Indeed, soon afterwards the motion picture hit the screens. It is still popular and by public request the film was shown four times. As to Moiseyev's lecture, at that point I thought that such speeches should be filmed or at least recorded. Few professional lecturers would be able to describe a worker's profession so vividly, convincingly and excitedly, and to describe the role of the working person in our state.

Under the leadership of Lenin's great party, during the past decade our fatherland has advanced far ahead and achieved tremendous successes in all economic and social areas. The main wealth of the land of the soviets is its people. The patriotism of the Soviet person is expressed above all in his daily accomplishments in strengthening the power of the country. This was properly said by Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev: "The feeling of homeland is quite strong in all of us. It is a splendid feeling! Naturally, it is nurtured not by contemplating the beauty of our land. As they say, one must be part of its roots and when people sweat over growing its grain, building its cities, laying a new road or digging a trench in defending the land, it is then that he fully realizes what homeland means."

In the course of building socialism a new historical community developed in our country--the Soviet people. This community, which was started during the first years of the Soviet system, is today one of the main foundations of our socialist way of life. It is above all the working class of the land of the soviets that is cementing and making it monolithic.

I, the man of the machine tool, who has spent my entire conscious life in a plant, find the realization of this particularly pleasant. I believe that in our country there is no more noble and beautiful title than that of working person, for everything which our people have and their tremendous national wealth are above all the results of the hands of the toiling people, of their minds and their creative inspiration.

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WE HAVE THE PROGRAM--WE NEED VIGOROUS ACTION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 82 pp 22-31

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee May (1982) plenum was a major milestone in the formulation and practical implementation of the CPSU's agrarian policy at the present stage. The plenum's main document--"The USSR Food Program for the Period Through 1990"--is based on more than 15 years' experience of the party's struggle to boost the country's socialist agriculture under the conditions of developed socialism. The path traveled during these years has totally confirmed the scientific, Marxist-Leninist nature and profound realism of the party agrarian policy whose foundations were laid by the CPSU Central Committee March (1965) plenum.

The material and technical base of agriculture has been qualitatively renewed in the time since the CPSU Central Committee March plenum, as Comrade L.I. Brezhnev has pointed out. The power-worker ratio has more than trebled. The stock of irrigated and drained land has increased 70 percent. Specialized stockraising complexes and large poultry units using industrial production techniques have been commissioned. Highly efficient interfarm and agroindustrial enterprises and associations are being developed. All this made it possible to almost double the average annual level of labor productivity in kolхозes and sovkhozes in 1976-80 compared with 1961-65. Gross agricultural output increased 50 percent during this period. Great changes are taking place in the countryside's social life. The last 15 years have seen one of the most considerable investments in all the history of the development of socialist agriculture. In terms of the rate of the development of its material and technical base and gross output the USSR has surpassed the overwhelming majority of developed capitalist states in this period. And as for the main concern--the social development of the countryside under the conditions of the two systems--there is a total polarization: on the one hand the constant growth of the material and cultural living standards of working people in the socialist countryside, and on the other the annual ruin, impoverishment and proletarianization of millions of [Western] farmers.

The boosting of the Soviet land's agriculture is not a narrow sectorial task. It is a great political concern of all the people. It is a main component of what constitutes the supreme goal of the vital activity of our Leninist Communist Party--concern for the people's happiness and welfare. At all stages of the building of the new society the party has proceeded from the premise that

food questions are a very important element of its struggle to boost Soviet people's material well-being. The struggle for bread, V.I. Lenin said, meaning the food program as a whole, is the struggle for socialism. This problem was and still remains difficult, especially for a country that inherited age-old backwardness, poverty of the people, hunger and dislocation; for a country which has been twice subjected to large-scale military attack by imperialism and of which the greatest efforts and tremendous material expenditure are daily, hourly, required in order to defend the freedom, independence and happiness gained by the people; for a country for which fascism--that shock detachment of imperialism--caused incalculable material losses and the death of over 20 million people during the Great Patriotic War.

In the years since the CPSU Central Committee March (1965) plenum the party's Leninist agrarian policy has made it possible to increase considerably the consumption of food products. For instance, per capita meat consumption is currently double that of the prerevolutionary years. The last 15 or 16 years account for approximately 60 percent of its absolute increase and for approximately 40 percent of the absolute increase in consumption of milk and dairy products, and so forth. Overall, over these 15 years, despite the fact that over one-third of them have been extremely unfavorable from the viewpoint of natural conditions, a major step forward in the development of the country's agriculture has been taken and a firm foundation has been laid for the total solution of the food problem in the near future.

It was precisely on the basis of the results that had been achieved that the actual idea of formulating a long-term food program emerged. And this means that the program adopted by the CPSU Central Committee May (1982) plenum was put forward by the very course of our life and represents an objective requirement of the current stage of the developed socialist society.

The very nature of the USSR Food Program for the period through 1990 marks a qualitatively new approach by the party toward the further elaboration and practical implementation of the Leninist agrarian policy. The main peculiarities of the document are that, first, the food problem is resolved from the standpoint of the development not of just one sector--agriculture--but of the entire agroindustrial complex and, second, a longer term has been taken: a whole decade. A plan covering such a term makes it possible to make the best use of the production forces at the disposal of the country's agroindustrial complex.

The distinguishing feature of the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee May (1982) plenum is also the fact that what the party has placed at the head of all the upcoming tremendous work to further develop agriculture is above all the attainment of a new level in the people's consumption of food products. This is the end result that has been put forward as the decisive factor in our economic activity at the present stage of socialist building. Today every working person and every enterprise in the agroindustrial complex must report to the people not in terms of "gross output," not in terms of profits, but in terms of the real results of the systematic increase in the country's food arsenal.

The tasks set by the CPSU Central Committee May plenum as regards further boosting agriculture and radically improving the population's supplies of food products, and also the material and organizational measures formulated at the plenum are now quite widely known. The party is using all the news media and the full range of forms of agitation and propaganda work to convey their essence to every Soviet person. It would be a serious mistake to turn this work into a short-term campaign. Lenin's instruction that the success of party policy greatly depends on the profound understanding of it by the broadest people's masses has been verified and repeatedly confirmed by life, experience and the entire heroic history of our party and the Soviet state.

Practical work must be brought to the fore right now. It is well known that one of the main qualities of the Leninist style is not only the ability to formulate the correct line, to adopt the correct decisions and to make the masses aware of them, but also inexhaustible energy and the ability to organize a real everyday struggle to implement the decisions that have been adopted. In its organizational work the party has always attached special importance to the selection and placement of cadres and to verification of execution. Now that it is a question of implementing the Food Program, these organizational principles must be adopted by all party, soviet, trade union and economic organs.

Experienced soldiers say that in war it is very important to know with whom you are going into battle. That motto is equally important under the conditions of peaceful life and in the face of large-scale complex tasks. Of course, it is not a question of starting a campaign to reshuffle cadres. But no one will be making a mistake if he ponders over and over again how correctly cadres have been selected and placed in the most important sectors of the struggle for the Food Program and how capable they are of fulfilling with honor the tasks set by the party.

Today the slogan Act! must be the combat slogan for all agroindustrial complex personnel. The party has formulated a good, scientific, realistic program and the main thing now is not to engage in idle talk but precisely to act. This needs to be emphasized because, unfortunately, one still encounters leaders who conceive of organizational work as the sum total of sessions, meetings, conferences and all kinds of "scoldings." You will not get far on that "steed!" The way to successfully implement the Food Program is via better production organization, via the widespread introduction of all that is new and advanced, via a quest for and efficient utilization of all reserves and via a specific everyday concern--starting with simple and seemingly petty questions--for working people, for those who are the main creators of material wealth. In the face of the great tasks a self-critical attitude on the part of cadres toward the results of work is of considerable importance.

Under present conditions, when agriculture possesses an extremely powerful material and technical base and experienced, educated cadres, one of the crucial questions is the organization and skillful management of production. As is well known, the CPSU Central Committee May (1982) plenum also paid great attention to this question. I think the plenum's decision on creating agroindustrial associations at all levels from the rayon is of the greatest importance in improving the management of agriculture. The rayon agroindustrial

association should probably be the main element among these. Experience of such organizations, as is well known, has been accumulated for quite a number of years.

The Vilyandinskiy (Estonian SSR), Talsinskiy (Latvian SSR) and Abashskiy (Georgian SSR) Rayon agroindustrial associations have been particularly successful. Precisely as a result of their creation and vigorous activity, labor productivity in all elements of the complex and especially in the chief element--agriculture--has improved appreciably. The fact that the creation of the associations has also made it possible to resolve the countryside's social problems with significantly greater success is also of considerable importance.

The crucial factors making for high efficiency in the activity of these first experimental, so to speak, rayon agroindustrial associations (they now operate in almost all rayons in these republics) include the selection of cadres and above all of their main leaders. Profound knowledge, especially economic knowledge, excellent organizational abilities and bold and, I would say, inexhaustible well-thought-out initiatives are their most distinctive qualities. This example shows how painstakingly and profoundly the selection of leading cadres must be approached at local level when rayon agroindustrial associations are being set up.

In the opinion of specialists and scientists, the statewide scale of rayon agroindustrial complexes legitimized by the CPSU Central Committee May plenum also sets practical workers and science the immediate major long-term task of supplementing the skillful, correct organizational building and functioning of the complexes with the solution of a number of economic questions. One of the main, most urgent questions is that of ensuring each participant in the complex receives a share of income in line with the size, extent and quality of his contribution to the common cause. This question is, of course, not simple and requires careful scientific study and the organization of appropriate experiments. But without this it is impossible to imagine the future of rayon agroindustrial associations. The very essence of the USSR Food Program puts forward economic questions of these associations' work as a vital need.

Among the questions of production organization and agricultural management, agricultural production specialization and concentration on the basis of interfarm cooperatives [kooperatsiya] and agroindustrial integration deserves even closer attention in the light of the USSR Food Program.

This is one of the central problems of organizing modern agricultural production. It was for this reason that the CPSU Central Committee adopted in 1976 the resolution "On Further Developing Agricultural Production Specialization and Concentration on the Basis of Interfarm Cooperatives and Agroindustrial Integration." This is a historic keynote document.

The initiative for formulating the document came from Comrade L.I. Brezhnev. Developing Lenin's teaching on cooperatives under conditions of developed socialism, we revealed the objective laws of the changes taking place in the vast and complex sphere of the economy represented by the country's agroindustrial complex. Comrade L.I. Brezhnev scientifically substantiated the need for interfarm cooperatives and agroindustrial integration and for the creation

by this means of larger production units entirely based on industrial techniques and indicated the basic trends of the rapprochement between the cooperative and state forms of ownership. It was Comrade L.I. Brezhnev who several years ago described production specialization and concentration on the basis of interfarm cooperatives and agroindustrial integration as the highway for our agriculture.

Agricultural production specialization and concentration on the basis of interfarm cooperatives must receive a powerful new development impulse in the struggle that has begun on a broad front to implement the USSR Food Program. Ultimately, large specialized enterprises and associations created on the basis of interfarm cooperatives and agroindustrial integration and matching up to the demands of present-day science and technology will inevitably replace the present organization of agricultural production based mostly on small multisectorial and to some extent discrete kolkhoz and sovkhoz farms. The more swiftly this process takes place, the higher the level of intensification of our entire agriculture will be.

The experience of the past few years cogently confirms that wherever the creation of specialized enterprises and associations on the basis of interfarm cooperatives has been approached skillfully and from a scientific standpoint, the results of labor are far higher than they are in multisectorial, isolated farms. Approximately 10,000 interfarm enterprises and organizations are already operating in the country. Entire sectors of agriculture have been switched to the path of specialization and concentration in some oblasts. In Moldavia, as is well known, in addition to plant growing and livestock raising, interfarm cooperatives for mechanization, electrification, land reclamation, freight shipments and more have been successfully operating for many years now in all rayons.

Back in the early fifties, the republic began to develop agricultural production specialization and concentration consistently and with the active participation of science. The fruits of this valuable but also, of course, complex work are very tangible. Since the switch to agricultural production specialization and concentration, Moldavia, which had absolutely no possibility of expanding its agricultural land and is in the zone of so-called "inadequate moisture supplies," has increased production of the most important agricultural products as follows: grain from 1,761,000 tons (annual average) in 1956-60 to 2,893,000 tons in 1976-80 (and grain crop yield increased from 18 to 33.1 quintals per hectare over that same period); sugar beets from 1,211,000 tons to 3,138,000 tons; tobacco by a factor of 5.7 (from 15,800 tons to 90,300 tons); vegetables by almost 4 times (from 298,000 tons to 1,169,000 tons); fruits and berries by more than 5 times (from 153,000 tons to 822,000 tons); and grapes by a factor of 3 (from 412,000 tons to 1,234,000 tons). Production of meat (carcass weight) and eggs more than doubled over the same period and milk production nearly doubled. Overall, the republic's gross agricultural output (in comparable prices) increased from R1,309 million in 1970 to R2,705 million in 1980--in other words, it more than doubled.

The party's course of agricultural production specialization and concentration on the basis of interfarm cooperatives is a vital necessity of our development and the correct way to scale considerable heights in agricultural production. Unfortunately, many republics, krays and oblasts are still not attaching due

significance to this, the highway of our agriculture. For instance, this process is going poorly in the sectors directly producing agricultural products. Thus, according to USSR Central Statistical Administration figures, they account for only 18 percent of all [interfarm] enterprises and organizations (as of 1 January 1981). And only 217 enterprises and organizations have been created so far in the main sector of agricultural production--plant growing. Only 265 enterprises and organizations producing agricultural output are functioning on an interfarm basis in our largest union republic--the RSFSR. This important work has been no better organized in the Ukraine and a number of other republics.

The question naturally arises: Why is such slow headway being made by agricultural production specialization and concentration on the basis of interfarm cooperatives? (I emphasize: on the basis of interfarm cooperatives, not of the specialization of individual farms.) It has long been well known that anything new makes headway only with great difficulty. That is clearly the case here. But in our view there is also a definite "psychological barrier" in this matter. The attachment that has developed over the decades to "my" farm is probably having an impact.

It sometimes seems that what is operating here is the same factor as at the time of the collectivization, when the attachment of the peasant, especially the middle peasant, to his own individual farm was all too strong. To tolerate that kind of mentality is to run counter to science and the objective laws of the development of the modern economy.

The question of the correct, scientific, realistic planning of agriculture also deserves the most serious attention in the struggle to fulfill the Food Program. Above all it is a question of, as the party Central Committee has repeatedly indicated, ending the stereotyped approach and administration by decree in planning the economic activity of kolkhozes and sovkhoses. Back in 1955 the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers adopted a special resolution on this question. The Central Committee March (1965) plenum condemned with the utmost determination the stereotyped approach and administration by decree in the leadership of kolkhozes and sovkhoses. Finally, having generalized new experience, in November 1980 the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers adopted a detailed resolution on the planning of and provision of incentives for agricultural production, emphasizing the need to grant farms the maximum independence with respect to production planning.

Administration by decree, the armchair approach and disregard of the opinion of farm leaders and specialists, who naturally know better than anyone how to use the land, how many livestock to keep and so forth, undermine the very essence of socialist economic management and are detrimental to the state.

When one considers that the practice of administration by decree and armchair planning is still overly tenacious, it can frankly be said that the elimination of this practice and a resolute universal switch to genuinely scientific, realistic planning contain a readymade and quite large reserve for the growth of agricultural output. Indeed, if in one of his recent central television appearances A.N. Gulyayev, chairman of the Pervomayskiy Kolkhoz in Krasnobelskiy Rayon, Kostroma Oblast, said he had no need to use 155 hectares of land (as

the rayon organs were demanding) in order to fulfill the state plan for the sale of 500 tons of potatoes, that only 70 hectares were enough, and he was intending to grow several hundred quintals of flax on the remaining 85 hectares, the sale of which would produce almost R100,000 of extra income for the kolkhoz, surely it is clear that the stance of the rayon organs that disagreed with the opinion of the experienced chairman and are violating established planning principles runs counter to the interests of the farm and of the state.

There is criticism of the principle whereby the so-called "target population" [vykhodnoye pogolovye] indicator is taken as one of the main indications (once again, established from above) in assessing the development of stockraising. Of course, each farm, in the light of its size, the nature of the land and so forth, must maintain a certain population of livestock. But where the herd is not in line with a farm's specific conditions, an approach based on the "target population" principle can undermine the sector. That same A.N. Gulyayev said that in 1968 there were 250 cows on their farm, which made it possible to ensure they were well fed. Each cow yielded 3,200-3,300 kg of milk. But since the "target population" principle (and similar regulations about the culling of livestock) operated inexorably, by 1980 the kolkhoz had 480 cows. But the fodder base and the potential for tending the livestock remained the same as 10-12 years ago. As a result, the milk yield fell by a total of 1,000 kg! Why? Because the kolkhoz could no longer properly feed and keep that number of cows.

There are many such examples. In meat production, for instance, the underfeeding of livestock because of that same quest for the "target population" means that the animals are kept too long, which in turn leads to an extreme slowdown in the rate of increase in meat production. In many republics farms take more than 30 months to raise and fatten one head of cattle. But on farms where stockraising is conducted on a truly scientific basis this takes 16-20 months. One of the outstanding organizers of kolkhoz production, Hero of Socialist Labor I.M. Semenov, once said: Why plan a population that cannot be fed?

Thus the question of truly scientific, realistic planning is a great and fundamental state question. Republics, krais, oblasts, rayons, kolkhozes and sovkhozes are now formulating their own food programs in accordance with the unionwide Food Program. The end results will depend to a tremendous extent on how profoundly and thoroughly farm leaders and specialists approach the formulation of these plans in the light of experience, the specific conditions and scientific data. After all, under our conditions, under conditions of socialism, the plan is the start of everything. A bad, purely formal plan can neither mobilize people nor ensure that high indicators are achieved.

One fundamental factor in the successful implementation of the USSR Food Program is the radical improvement of the utilization of agriculture's material and technical base, whose foundation is formed by mechanization, chemicalization and land reclamation. Well aware that in the age of the scientific and technical revolution the onward development of agriculture is impossible unless it is switched over to complete mechanization and chemicalization and a large complex of land reclamation work is implemented, the CPSU, especially since the Central Committee March (1965) plenum, embarked on a major reallocation of

capital investments in favor of agriculture in order to properly strengthen its material and technical base. Here too the party's efforts have been crowned with great achievements. Thus the total power capacity of the USSR's agriculture increased from 232 million horsepower in 1981--that is, by a factor of more than 2.7. Over this same period agriculture's tractor pool increased from 1,613,000 to 2,598,000 vehicles; the number of grain harvesting combines increased from 520,000 to 741,000; and the number of trucks increased from 945,000 to 1,653,000. Millions of various other machines are concentrated on kolkhozes and sovkhoses. Their quality is improving constantly. It can be said without exaggeration that the USSR is a country with a powerful agricultural industry.

Land chemicalization and reclamation have also now become substantial factors in the intensification of agriculture. Mineral fertilizer deliveries have trebled since the Central Committee March plenum. The area of irrigated land has increased from 9.9 million hectares in 1965 to 18 million hectares in 1981. Much work has been carried out to drain and ameliorate agricultural land.

As is well known, the USSR Food Program provides for a further strengthening of the material and technical base of the country's agriculture. The question of the most efficient utilization of machines, chemicalization facilities and reclaimed land must be raised all the more acutely under these conditions. It can frankly be said that the reserves here are very considerable. Unfortunately, leaders who make the greatest efforts to obtain new material and technical facilities but show too little concern for the utilization of existing facilities have by no means disappeared in our country. Low equipment productivity, a great shortage of machine-operator cadres, vacant irrigated and drained parcels of land and unskillful and sometimes negligent handling of mineral fertilizers and other chemicalization facilities are all still common phenomena.

It is clearly necessary to sharply increase exactingness toward cadres at all levels over the utilization of the tremendous material and technical wealth that the country's agricultural enterprises now have at their disposal. As Comrade L.I. Brezhnev teaches, the indicator of the end result must more rapidly be given pride of place, as in other sectors of the national economy. For it is a fact that many farms, rayons and even oblasts and krais have essentially been marking time for many years in so important a matter as crop yields and stockraising productivity, although each year the state allocates considerable material and technical resources to them.

It is extremely distressing but it remains a fact that even a region as fertile as the Kuban is failing to provide a full return on the sizable material resources invested in its agriculture. Figures show that Krasnodar Kray, after obtaining for the first time a grain crop yield of 35.2 quintals per hectare in 1970 and 1971, has been unable to reach this level in subsequent years (with the exception of 1978). Of course, here too there were years that were unfavorable in terms of natural conditions. But we are talking not of particular years, but of a whole decade.

Moreover, the material and technical base of the Kuban's agriculture has not remained at the same level for these 10 years but has increased substantially. Thus the power capacity of the kray's agriculture reached 17 million horsepower in 1981, an increase of 8 million horsepower or 90 percent compared with 1971. Over this period mineral fertilizer deliveries to the kray increased from 351,000 tons (in 100-percent nutrient equivalent) to 517,000 tons--in other words, by 50 percent.

The same can be said of Kursk Oblast. The grain crop yield there in the 8th Five-Year Plan (annual average) was 1.4 quintals per hectare higher than it was in the 10th Five-Year Plan. In Kostroma Oblast, for instance, milk yields per cow have been falling for the last 20 years. In 1960 they were 2,214 kg; in 1965, 2,078 kg; and in 1981 only 1,841 kg.

How is it possible to look at those figures without distress and a feeling of great alarm?! That question must be put first and foremost to those oblasts' leading cadres.

Exactingness over the utilization of mineral fertilizers and other chemical agents must be considerably increased. There is no need today to prove that the further growth of the production forces of our country's agriculture and especially of its main sector--plant growing--is linked in the closest possible way with the quantitative and qualitative chemicalization of arable farming. Soyuzselkhozkhimiya [All-Union Science and Production Association for Agrochemical Services to Agriculture] data show that even now the use of mineral fertilizers (for all the shortage of them) is providing the country with a substantial additional amount of agricultural products. Thus in the 10th Five-Year Plan an average of 31.6 million tons of additional grain, 3.4 million tons of additional raw cotton, 25.2 million tons of additional sugar beets and approximately 15 million tons of additional potatoes and vegetables were obtained each year because of mineral fertilizers.

The party and the government show constant concern for more fully meeting agriculture's needs for mineral fertilizers and herbicides. The best response to this must be the skillful, correct, thrifty use of the chemical materials that kolkhozes and sovkhozes receive. However, many republics and oblasts, for instance, deal in a completely unsatisfactory fashion with the liming of acid soils (in the Non-Chernozem Zone the proportion of such soils reaches 70-80 percent), without which the application of mineral fertilizers will not produce any positive result. In recent years the fight against weeds has slackened in a number of the country's regions, yet in the presence of weeds, once again, mineral fertilizer applications fail to produce the requisite effect. The unsatisfactory state of the material and technical base is having an extremely adverse effect on the results of the chemicalization of arable farming and is leading to losses and to a deterioration in the quality of fertilizers.

Without great, painstaking, systematic work to eliminate the gaps and flaws in the sphere of chemicalization and without the organization of chemicalization on a firm scientific foundation it is hard to expect the tasks set by the Food Program to be successfully resolved. The truly scientific chemicalization of

arable farming must now be the prime concern of all cadres working in the agricultural sphere. For this, first of all, they themselves must have a perfect grasp of the techniques of this powerful means of boosting the production force of arable farming. Incidentally, many practical workers and specialists are advocating the assertion of the following principle: giving fertilizers (and agricultural machines, too) first and foremost to those who obtain a proper return in the shape of the end product because of their thrifty attitude. Is it worth, for instance, giving new tractors to farms where there are only enough machine operators for one or at most one and a half shifts of workers?! Or to farms where they do not know how to store and use chemical materials properly?

Of course, these questions are not simple. However, we must switch to ensuring that planning and incentives in agriculture and the assessment of its cadres' work more resolutely travel the path of taking the end results into account--that is, link them much more close to the increase in crop yields and livestock productivity and the return on the manpower and material and technical resources invested.

The question of improving the current system for the distribution of agricultural equipment, which took shape many years ago in different conditions, and the practice of its utilization is arising more and more acutely. Experience shows that here, too, it is urgently necessary to clear a broad way for specialization and concentration on the basis of interfarm cooperatives. Their forms and methods can differ, but the principles are those stipulated in the CPSU Central Committee resolution "On Further Developing Agricultural Production Specialization and Concentration on the Basis of Interfarm Cooperatives and Agroindustrial Integration."

Relying on their accumulated experience of specialization and concentration, the Moldavian SSR's kolkhozes and sovkhoses have traveled the path of organizing interfarm mechanization associations. This example has been quite widely covered in our press. The only problem is that as yet there are very few people who want to utilize this experience that has proved its worth for almost 10 years. The reason for this is probably that same old "psychological barrier"--the habit of working in the old style and fear of the new.

The experience of Kochubeyvskiy Rayon, Stavropol Kray, is also interesting. It is based on improving the organization of production and management within the framework of a given farm. The experience was first laid down in the Kazminskiy Kolkhoz. The kolkhoz had previously allocated all the land use among five comprehensive teams, each of which had its own crop rotations and grew grain crops, corn for grain and for green fodder, sugar beets, sunflowers, hemp and fodder grasses. Each team had its own set of equipment to cultivate that whole multitude of crops. In 1975, after careful preparation, the kolkhoz began assimilating a single nine-field crop rotation. The average field size increased from 120 to 880 hectares. A shop management structure was introduced instead of the comprehensive teams. The new system enabled the kolkhoz to increase the grain crop yield from 26 to 34.5 quintals per hectare; the sugar beet yield from 238 to 386 quintals and so forth in only the first 3 years. And though the comprehensive teams had been short of equipment, after the switch to the shop system and specialization some of the available equipment

proved to be surplus. Unfortunately the Kochubeyvskiy Rayon farmers' example has not yet found all that many imitators either.

Under the conditions of the constantly growing material and technical base of our agriculture, disregard of the new and conservatism are poor companions in the struggle that the party has launched for the faster fulfillment of the Food Program.

The Communist Party calls on all personnel of the agroindustrial complex and on those linked with it to act vigorously. To act, but not act in the old way, using the long-customary outmoded methods and "models"--to act using the achievements of leading science, equipment, technology and leading experience as much as possible and with an even greater sense of responsibility for the work that the party and the people have entrusted and confided to the personnel of the agroindustrial complex.

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CHEMIZATION: KEY TO SOIL FERTILITY

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[Article by A. Postnikov, director of the All-Russian Scientific Research and Design Technological Institute of Agricultural Chemization, and V. Markov, head of the institute's scientific and technical information sector]

[Text] In resolving the strategic problem of ensuring the country's reliable supplies of food and agricultural raw materials for industry and in defining the main directions of agrarian policy under developed socialist conditions, the party included in the "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period through 1990" and in the resolutions of the May 1982 CPSU Central Committee plenum important steps related to the furthering strengthening of the material and technical base of agriculture by accelerating the pace of mechanization, chemization and reclamation and the comprehensive solution of problems related to the development of the agrarian sector of our economy.

The USSR Food Program, which was approved at the May 1982 CPSU Central Committee plenum, is the most important structural component of the party's economic strategy for the present decade. It faces with specific assignments each economic sector within the agroindustrial complex, including the agrochemical service. "The responsibility of the agrochemical service must be enhanced," the program emphasizes, "in order to ensure the efficient utilization of chemical fertilizers and other chemization means and the practical utilization of the achievements of science, technology and progressive experience."

I

The creation of Soyuzsel'khozkhimiya--a unified specialized agrochemical service--by decree passed at the July 1978 CPSU Central Committee plenum converted chemization into a major autonomous organized sector whose purpose is to ensure the acceleration of scientific and technical progress in agriculture along one of its main directions. This sector, the task of which is the development and practical utilization of a uniform agrochemical policy on a national scale, becomes the binding link between industry and agriculture. This strengthens the unity of all subsequent stages in the chemization process and ensures its orientation toward achieving the highest possible end national economic results. The precise determination of agricultural

requirements for chemical fertilizers in terms of quantity and quality enables us to restructure and make more efficient the work of industrial enterprises engaged in their manufacturing, to reduce corresponding material outlays, to make better use of productive capital and to ensure high land fertility. On the other hand, thanks to the concentration of productive capital in this sector--chemical fertilizers and equipment--the main prerequisite for their efficient utilization is met. Therefore, today the successful development of the country's entire agriculture greatly depends on the quality of the work of the Soyuzsel'khozkhimiya system, which has been assigned the responsibility of implementing the state program for upgrading soil fertility. This very year Soyuzsel'khozkhimiya will perform agro-chemical work for kolkhozes and sovkhozes worth about 8 billion rubles; toward the end of the five-year plan the volume of such work will increase to 10.5-11 billion rubles.

The characteristic of the current stage in the development of agriculture is that an increasing share of crop production is the result not of natural fertility but the use of chemization facilities, fertilizers above all. Fertilizer accounts for one-half of crop increases in the RSFSR and two-thirds in the Nonchernozem Zone. The basic principle of farming stems from the very nature of the socialist society: not only to replace the nutritive substances removed from the soil but to introduce more compared with what the crops have taken out, i.e., to ensure the extended reproduction of soil fertility with a view to the preservation of natural resources and increasing agricultural productivity. The solution of this double task calls for purposeful and planned control of the cycle of nutritive substances in farming based on the increased production of chemization facilities, and their improved quality and expanded variety.

In agriculture the growth of labor productivity is achieved as a result of the fact that the share of the work of industrial enterprises, which are increasing their production of agricultural machines and equipment, construction materials, chemical fertilizers and plant protection chemicals, is increasing in the overall social labor invested in the production of agricultural commodities. Thus, the use of one man/hour in the production of chemical fertilizers enables us to save more than 15 man/hours in the field by increasing yields. The use of one ton of nutritive substances saves 275 man/hours. Outlays for chemical fertilizers are recovered within the shortest possible time, enabling us steadily to increase output per unit of farmland. The efficient use of chemicals is a tremendous reserve in strengthening the economics of agricultural enterprises. This is clearly confirmed by the experience of the leading kolkhozes and sovkhozes, which are using knowledgeably and scientifically fertilizers and plant protection chemicals.

The achievements of the Zarya Kommunizma state breeding farm, Domodedovskiy Rayon, Moscow Oblast, are widely known. Yet the initial results here were more than modest: the farm averaged no more than 12 quintals of grain, 80 quintals of potatoes and 20 quintals of perennial grass hay per hectare in 1961. Its success was based on the increased amount of chemical, lime and organic fertilizers used. Soil fertility rose steadily. In recent years

high and stable yields from all farm crops have been reached: more than 50 quintals of grain, 300 quintals of potatoes, 500 quintals of feed root crops and silage corn and 85 quintals of perennial grass hay per hectare.

The knowledgeable use of fertilizers, including chemical ones, increases the yields and quality of output. The content of protein and gluten in the grain, oil in sunflower seeds and sugar and vitamins in soft fruits and vegetables increase. Thus, for example, thanks to the surface application of nitrogen fertilizers, Krasnodar Kray alone grows up to 2 million tons of high-quality wheat annually, the flour of which possesses special baking qualities.

At the same time, chemization should be considered the most important structural component within the system of measures related to environmental protection. While improving the development of plants, fertilizers intensify the absorption of carbon dioxide, enrich the soil with nutritive substances and protect it from exhaustion. The better the soil is protected and the more space factors such as heat and light are used, the more reliably the other two areas surrounding man are protected--the water and the air.

Every single farm must use chemicals on a strictly scientific basis. This is not easy, considering the scale of chemization. This faces the personnel of agrochemical services with complex and responsible tasks. Every year the Russian Federation uses about 500 million tons of organic, chemical and lime-base fertilizers. The variety of fertilizers produced by our industry exceeds the 40 mark and more than 130 different chemicals are used for plant protection. The problem is that we must fertilize hundreds of thousands of individual plots, whose soils differ in terms of acidity and the content of nitrogen, phosphorus, potassium and microelements. Each field and different crop, and there are dozens and dozens of them, needs its specific choice of fertilizers with the proper ratio of nutritive substances. The changes in the chemical composition of the soils, taking place under the influence of fertilizers, and crop changes, in turn, call for changes in the technology of the use of chemicals.

Under contemporary conditions a differentiated approach which takes local conditions accurately into consideration assumes a decisive role in increasing fertility. It becomes a most important criterion in assessing the work of the personnel in agrochemical services. It demands of them high skills, strict observance of scientific recommendations and paying tireless attention to the practical utilization of the latest achievements of scientific and technical progress.

II

The fullest possible use of such resources with a view to the further growth of agricultural production and to improving its efficiency is largely determined by the comprehensive solution of the chemization problem. All links within this process and all of its consecutive stages must be interrelated, coordinated and subordinated to a single technological plan. Shortcomings

and breakdowns in one of them automatically cause violations of the normal process, which leads to crop underproduction and to lowering chemization effectiveness.

Today particular attention is ascribed to the use of organic fertilizers, which are one of the basic elements in the rotation of nutritive substances in farming. Their systematic use contributes to better soil cultivation, which ensures more efficient use of other chemization facilities. Humus--an organic substance--accounts for soil fertility. It is impossible to resolve the problem of upgrading soil fertility and of the positive balance of humus through the use of chemical fertilizers alone. Thus, in the Nonchernozem Zone of the RSFSR the use of chemical fertilizers in the 10th Five-Year Plan, compared with the 8th, increased by a factor of 2.2 for grain crops while yields increased by no more than 14 percent. Many kolkhozes and sovkhoses are still not applying to the crops the normative amount of fertilizers. The low efficiency of the fertilizers is explained by the fact that the use of organic fertilizers has increased too slowly. The balance of humus here remains negative. In order to turn it into positive, 10-12 tons of organic fertilizers must be applied per hectare, instead of less than 6 tons as is the case.

The soddy-podzolic soil of the Nonchernozem Zone contains no more than 1.5-2 percent humus. This is insufficient in terms of growing high yields. Studies have indicated that in 10 years the humus content in the zone has declined by 0.51 percent. Meanwhile, substantial changes have taken place in Moscow and Leningrad Oblasts in soil fertility as a result of the increased use of organic and chemical fertilizers and the implementation of a number of measures such as liming and phosphorizing the soil. At the Kolkhoz imeni Razumovskiy, Chkalovskiy Rayon, Gorkiy Oblast, the use of organic fertilizer was raised to 13 tons per hectare. As a result, grain crop yields here have exceeded 40 quintals per hectare while potato yields have averaged 200 quintals. At the Zarya Kommunizma state breeding farm in Moscow Oblast, which harvests record-setting yields of all farm crops, an average of 20 tons of organic fertilizers per hectare are used.

Unfortunately, until recently no proper attention was being paid in many parts of the republic to the efficient use of organic fertilizers, as a result of which soil fertility declined. Particularly alarming is the situation which has developed in the Central Chernozem Rayon in the RSFSR. The Scientific Research Agricultural Institute of the Central Chernozem Belt imeni V. V. Dokuchayev compared the humus content in the soils, as established by V. V. Dokuchayev in 1883 and the situation today. It turned out that the thick Chernozem described by the scientist had virtually disappeared. In most areas in the zone the humus content had declined by 3 percent. Today the humus content in Borisoglebskiy, Paninskiy, Anninskiy and Gribovskiy Rayons in Voronezh Oblast have a humus content of 7-10 or even 4-6 percent rather than 10-13 percent.

Last year 440 million tons of organic fertilizers were applied in the republic or 3.4 tons per hectare of farmland. However, in order to farm without damaging soil fertility organic fertilizer averaging 6-7 tons must be

applied on the fields of Russia. The total amount for the republic should not be under 1 billion tons. Therefore, the livestock farms, which are the factories for fertilizer production, must increase their output. This is no easy matter.

The situation has changed in recent years as a result of the concentration of animal husbandry and the building of large complexes. First of all, the amount of manure produced by each farm and the distance of its transportation have increased. Secondly, a substantial quantity of manure does not include bedding and its consistency is either liquid or viscous. This requires the use of new means for its storage, processing and application. Unfortunately, the farm industry was not ready on time to deal with such characteristics.

In this case the psychological restructuring proved to be longer than the technological. The old tradition of considering manure as a production waste to be discarded as soon as possible also played its role. As a result of this major errors were made in the planning and construction of animal husbandry complexes. Insufficient attention was paid to the solution of problems such as the removal and utilization of the manure and the prevention of environmental pollution. Thus, blueprints frequently call for washing away the manure. The amount of fresh water spent for such purposes is seven to eight times that of the manure. This increases the amount of sewage water and, correspondingly, the cost of manure hauling and processing.

It is high time for the design organizations radically to amend the existing practice in designing animal husbandry complexes. Organic fertilizers are not production waste but a valuable return product. Plans and accounts related to their production should include technological equipment and capital investments. A residential building will not be accepted for use in a city before the construction workers have installed the necessary amenities and landscaped the adjacent territory. In precisely the same fashion we cannot accept for use animal husbandry complexes in which the problems of manure utilization and environmental protection have not been resolved. However, since manure is a consumption item, like any other consumer good it must have standards and a price. The time has come for the All-Union Scientific Research, Design and Planning-Technological Institute of Organic Fertilizers and Peat (VNIPTIOU), Gosstandart and other interested organizations must resolve more rapidly the problem of the value of the different types of manure and to set differentiated prices for this important commodity.

Currently the republic is spending substantial funds in the development of the fertilizer industry. Yet, because of technological violations in the use of manure, every year the fields are deprived of about 100 million tons of such valuable fertilizers. In terms of nutritive value, such "waste" is the equivalent to 1.5 million tons of chemical fertilizers in terms of 100 percent nutritive substances.

The use of peat is a major reserve in increasing organic fertilizer resources. The Russian Federation has more than 150 billion tons of peat. However, this tremendous source for upgrading soil fertility is being used

unsatisfactorily. Let us note that in recent years plans for its delivery to agriculture have been regularly underfulfilled. Even last year, which was exceptionally favorable, the plan was not fulfilled. Furthermore, the procured peat is not being economically used. It has long been proved that its use as pure substance is unprofitable. The Central Statistical Administration even issued a special instruction according to which peat applied to the soil in its pure state must not be recorded. It must be used through the livestock farms or as compost. However, of the 97 million tons of peat shipped out last year, only 37 million tons were used for composting and cattle bedding. This proves that the personnel of many departments in charge of peat deliveries do not consider it a valuable fertilizer but, adopting a narrow departmental approach, see it only in terms of a number of tons which must be shipped and applied in order to fulfill the plan.

Improving the use of peat is related to reorganizing the production of organic fertilizers on an industrial basis. A number of scientific units are developing a technology for the production of manure compost. The Sevzapgiproselkhozstroy Zonal Institute has designed a shop for the production of peat-manure compost with a capacity for 160,000 tons per year. The assessed cost of the project will be 190,000 rubles. The planned production cost per ton of compost is 3.86 rubles. Construction outlays will be recovered in 4 years. The task now is to convert from the building of individual projects to the development of a network of enterprises related to increasing the amount of organic manure in animal husbandry and peat reserves. The All-Russian Scientific Research and Design-Technological Institute of Agricultural Chemization has developed together with the local selkhozkhimiya associations a system for the location of shops and areas for the production of peat compost in the kolkhozes and sovkhoses of the Russian Federation. Accordingly, 270 shops and 801 compost production sites must be built during the 11th and 12 Five-Year Plans. Construction costs will total about 150 million rubles, recoverable in 3-4 years.

III

Tremendous work on the creation of a fertilizer industry has been carried out in the country since the March 1965 CPSU Central Committee plenum. Dozens of very large and most modern enterprises have been commissioned. A special ministry was set up for the production of chemical fertilizers. All of this proves the tireless concern of the party and the government for the development of the fertilizer industry. The results are clear. Whereas in 1965 7.4 million tons of fertilizer was produced in terms of 100 percent nutritive substances, 26 million tons were produced in 1981. A great deal has been done to improve the quality of output. Thus, the content of nutritive substances in the fertilizers rose from 29.4 percent in 1970 to 39.4 percent in 1981. The use of more concentrated fertilizers enables us to lower shipment and application outlays.

However, while noting the successes achieved in the chemical fertilizer industry, we must admit that the chemical workers still owe something to the farmers. During the past 5 years an average of 59 kilograms of nutritive substances were applied in the republic on an annual average. Whereas

industrial crops, potatoes, vegetables and irrigated and drained areas were supplied with chemical fertilizers to a certain extent, because of fertilizer shortages only one-half of the grain crops were fertilized while natural hay and pastureland covering more than 83 million hectares received virtually no fertilizer. The insufficient availability of fertilizers slows down increases in grain and feed crop yields.

Agriculture cannot be satisfied with the current ratio of nutritive substances in delivered fertilizers, although positive changes have been scored here as well. Thus, whereas during the 9th Five-Year Plan the ratio between nitrogen and phosphorus was 1:0.6, today it is 1:0.7. However, this is insufficient. Contemporary studies have indicated that in order to upgrade land fertility the use of phosphorus over the next 15-20 years must outstrip losses by a factor of 1.5-2, while the ratio between nitrogen and phosphorus in the fertilizer must be 1:1. Over a long period of time the USSR Gosplan and the Ministry of Chemical Industry and, today, the Ministry of Mineral Fertilizer Production are unable to change the abnormal situation prevailing in the production of phosphorus fertilizers. All of this considerably lowers the efficiency of the use of other types of fertilizer, for yields are essentially restricted by the shortage of phosphorus.

Another thing which deserves severe condemnation is that some chemical fertilizer industry enterprises violate their contractual obligations and supply fertilizers most of which do not meet state standard requirements and technical conditions. Millions of rubles are being additionally spent in grinding and loading such fertilizers which become compacted during shipment or shortly after their delivery to the consumer. Because of their low quality, many types of fertilizers are unevenly spread on the surface of the fields, which lowers yields. According to VASKHNIL, every year the country's agriculture falls short by about 15 million tons of grain for this reason alone.

The farmers have great expectations related to increasing the production of complex (containing two to three nutritive elements) fertilizers, which offer a number of advantages: the farms are relieved from labor-intensive mixing work, which increases labor productivity by 20-25 percent and a lesser amount of equipment is needed for the application of the fertilizer within optimal periods. Currently the share of complex fertilizers does not exceed 24 percent of the overall volume of procurements, and almost one-half of them consist of ammophos, the production of which is double that of actual requirements. If the Nonchernozem Zone were to be supplied by no more than one-half of the complex fertilizer it needs, about 180 million rubles would be saved during the 5-year period. For this reason the USSR Gosplan and the Ministry of Mineral Fertilizer Production must take additional steps to ensure the fastest possible increase in the production of complex chemical fertilizers, including some in liquid form.

Fertilizers must not only be produced but properly allocated, delivered to the consumers on time and applied within optimal seasons. Unfortunately, the fertility conveyor belt breaks down at its very start, at the chemical combines. A number of chemical enterprises work unrhythmically, failing in

their deliveries to the rural workers. Thus, the plan for the delivery of chemical fertilizers to kolkhozes, sovkhoses and other agricultural enterprises in the RSFSR was fulfilled 104 percent during the first half of 1982. Agriculture received 4.9 million tons of fertilizers in terms of active substance. However, although the plan was generally fulfilled and even overfulfilled, 27 out of 83 plants fell short in the production of a substantial quantity of chemical fertilizers, which triggered substantial difficulties in delivering the fertilizer to a number of oblasts, krays and autonomous republics during the autumn sowing season. The fulfillment of the plan for the delivery of nitrogen fertilizers to the kolkhozes and sovkhoses of Novosibirsk, Omsk, Chita, Kalinin, Yaroslavl and Tomsk Oblasts and Altay, Maritime and Khabarovsk Krays was fulfilled 64-83 percent only. The plan for the delivery of phosphate fertilizers to the farms in Krasnodar, Maritime and Krasnoyarsk Krays and the Kalmyk and Yakut ASSRs was fulfilled only 64-90 percent.

For many years a number of enterprises have fallen chronically short in delivering fertilizers to agriculture. This necessitates hundreds of amendments of the plans for the allocation of fertilizers and their shipments, which results in delayed deliveries, breakdowns in the allocation of freight cars and, above all, violations of the proper ratios of nutritive substances contained in the fertilizers used. We are puzzled by the fact that toward the end of the year delivery plants frequently amend their plans in such a way as to prove their actual "fulfillment." The result is that such enterprises seem to be fulfilling their plans while meanwhile Rosselkhozkhimiya pays millions of rubles in penalties for failure to supply consumers with fertilizers.

In order to ensure the uninterrupted work of the "fertility conveyor" a certain strategic fertilizer reserve must be developed. It could be used to compensate for shortages in one area or another. In fulfilling fertilizer production plants the consumers would receive additional fertilizer from this reserve strictly in proportion to their assets. This will make it possible to maneuver with such fertility resources and to use them more efficiently. In turn, Soyuzglavkhim should help the consumers and assign them to steady suppliers for periods of no less than 5 years. This would improve relations between plants and the selkhozkhimiya associations and would upgrade the reliability and promptness of procurements. Many problems related to chemization could be resolved more successfully if the Ministry of Mineral Fertilizer Production were to become part of the agroindustrial complex and the funds for agricultural chemization and the development of the production of chemical fertilizers become based not on the needs of individual sectors but on the solution of the Food Program as a whole. With this in mind, it would be expedient for the USSR Gosplan to create an agricultural chemization department.

A number of shortcomings may be noted in decisive chemization areas such as fertilizer deliveries, storage and application. Chemical fertilizer warehouses in the republic's agriculture can handle no more than 56 percent of requirements. The result is that millions of tons of fertilizer must be stored under open skies and are wasted. Adding to this the losses caused by

the delivery plants, which have not resolved the problems of the packing and freezing of fertilizers and transportation losses, about 1.5 million tons of nutritive substances failed to reach the plants every year.

The increased volume of deliveries of chemicals must be paralleled by a respective increase in available warehousing capacities and the increased technical-labor ratio in the sector. The solution of the basic problems of chemization is largely determined by the coordinated activities between selkhozkhimiya associations and other agricultural organizations and various departments related to the work of the agrochemical service. The republic has formulated a uniform system for the location of warehouses and agrochemical complexes, which enables us considerably to improve the entire system for the delivery, storage and utilization of chemicals. However, the local agricultural organs do not always pay the necessary attention to this matter. For example, in the Kaluga, Tula, Ivanovo and many other oblasts capital investments allocated for the construction of a production base for chemization are not always translated into contracting operations. The basic contracting organizations such as the RSFSR Ministry of Rural Construction and the Russian Kolkhoz Construction Association systematically failed to fulfill their construction plans.

The experience of the Kharkov Oblast party organization is an example of purposeful work in developing a production base for chemization. Chemization construction projects in the oblast have assumed a nationwide importance. In 1981 alone modern agrochemical centers with high-level mechanization were completed in 11 rayons. They will store and process 123,000 tons of fertilizers. This year such agrochemical centers will be built in nine oblast rayons; similar centers will be built in the remaining rayons in 1983. Therefore, in 3 years all oblast rayons will have modern bases for agricultural chemization. The first agrochemical center was created in Pervomayskiy Rayon in that oblast. Its practical experience is being disseminated within the Soyuzsel'khozkhimiya system.

Belgorod Oblast and the Tatar, Chuvash and Mari ASSRs are acting properly by seeking additional capital investments for 1983-1985 for the accelerated creation of agrochemical centers and kolkhoz and sovkhos chemization centers in order to ensure the fastest possible implementation of the Food Program.

Practical experience indicates that the problem of fertilizer storage can be successfully resolved by organizing the specialized designing of chemical fertilizer warehouses. This is confirmed by the experience in organizing the construction of such warehouses in Kirov Oblast. Here the emphasis is on the use of local construction materials and wooden glued structures. Despite the major economic advantages of this system, this experience is being promoted inadequately. Many oblasts are not fulfilling their programs for the construction of lightweight warehouses. The problem of producing high-quality inexpensive glues remains unresolved, although the technical conditions for their production have long been developed and submitted to the Ministry of Chemical Industry. In order to meet the need for warehousing capacities, the construction of plants and shops for the production of lightweight structures must be developed extensively during the 11th

Five-Year Plan. In the Nonchernozem Zone each oblast should have such facilities. Problems related to the development of containerized hauling of chemicals, particularly in soft containers, are still being resolved too slowly. Increasing the transportation of fertilizer by water offers extensive possibilities.

The technical retooling of the sector is taking place too slowly. Industry is still not supplying it with adequate numbers of highly productive loading and fertilizer application machines. Thus, whereas equipment requirements for crop growing are being met 90-95 percent, the availability of machines for the application of solid and liquid fertilizers is about 60 percent. Fertilizers must frequently be mixed manually because of acute equipment shortages. Currently the selkhozkhimiya associations are being increasingly supplied with power-saturated tractors (although their volume is still insufficient). However, heavy-duty spreaders and loaders are virtually unavailable, for which reason underpowered IRMG-4 and KSA-3 models must be used. Therefore, the structure of deliveries of special equipment is inconsistent with the development trends in the tractor fleet.

Whenever there are equipment shortages, the maximally efficient use of available machinery becomes very important. This largely depends on the organization of repairs and technical servicing of the machine-tractor fleet. However, in 1982 the RSFSR State Committee for Supply of Production Equipment for Agriculture accepted repair requests for only 70 percent of the tractors and 52 percent of the motor vehicles. Available production facilities make possible the technical servicing of no more than 20 percent of the total fleet. Hence lengthy and frequent machine idling, which increases the already significant losses and adversely affects deadlines for the implementation of agrochemical projects. The efficiency with which the equipment is used could be enhanced by enlarging the production base for repairs and technical servicing.

Currently virtually the entire area in remaining winter grain crops is receiving fertilizers. In some farms, however, such work has been delayed and fertilizer is being spread on the surface of the dry soil, which substantially lowers the efficiency of this important agrotechnical method. Therefore, the fertilizing of winter crops must be done within optimal times. We believe that this could be greatly helped by agricultural aviation, which could feed winter crops over no less than 50 percent of the entire area. However, its use greatly depends on the availability of takeoff and landing hardcover strips and the comprehensive mechanization of loading the fertilizer on the airplanes. Another means is that of expanding the so-called root feeding of grain crops by plowing in the fertilizers in the ground. This method enables us to extend the period of the work and make more extensive use of surface equipment.

The non-root nitrogen fertilizing, which enables us to increase procurements of the most valuable strains of strong and hard wheats, should be used more extensively as well. The chemization program calls for expanding the size of non-root feeding from 2.5 million to 4 million hectares by 1985. This will necessitate corresponding amendments in the allocation of nitrogen fertilizers and technical support for the use of this method.

IV

The efficient utilization of chemization facilities is directly related to the chemical reclamation of the soil, liming above all. Increased acidity is one of the basic reasons for the low fertility of soddy-podzolic soils. No intensive farming is possible with such soils without radical improvements through liming. All in all, the Russian Federation accounts for about 80 percent of all acid soils in the Soviet Union. This includes 52.7 million hectares of farmland, including 43.2 million hectares under cultivation. This area is particularly large in the Nonchernozem Zone.

According to scientific data, liming in the Russian Federation should be conducted annually over an area of about 10 million hectares of arable land. This requires the use of 60 million tons of lime per year in terms of active substance. During the past 10 years, however, liming has been practiced on an annual average over 3.3 million hectares, totaling 17.4 million tons of lime. The producing plants failed to fulfill the state plan for delivering lime fertilizers to agriculture. During the 10th Five-Year Plan alone the republic fell short of 21.9 million tons. About 40 percent of the chemical reclamation in the Nonchernozem Zone takes place in winter, which considerably reduces the effectiveness of liming. We must more rapidly convert from spreading reclamation agents and fertilizers to plowing them under in the course of the basic cultivation of the soil and ensuring the creation of the necessary production base.

More than 22 million hectares of saline land in the RSFSR is underproductive. However, their reclamation is being developed extremely slowly. To this day the problem of producing a triple-stage plow remains unresolved. Meanwhile, ignoring agricultural requirements, the Altay Agricultural Machinery Plant, is producing two- rather than three-stage plows, which do not ensure the proper cultivation of saline soils.

One of the biggest problems in chemization is the fact that 43 percent of the entire arable land in the Russian Federation has a low phosphorus content. In many Nonchernozem oblasts the share of such soils reaches 80 percent. No high yields can be grown here without the use of phosphorus fertilizer. Bearing in mind that phosphate fertilizer resources are limited, a new agricultural method--the phosphorizing of soils, i.e., the application of phosphorite meal averaging 1-2 tons per hectare--is becoming increasingly popular. The high efficiency of this method was confirmed in the farms of the Amur, Gorkiy, Bryansk and many other oblasts. During the 11th Five-Year Plan the Rosselkhozkhimiya units will increase the amount of phosphorite use by one-half. However, even this increase will not meet kolkhoz and sovkhoz requirements. The planning organs must resolve the problem of considerably increasing the production of phosphorite meal in order to surmount phosphorus shortages in our farming sooner.

One of the important directions in chemization is the implementation of a set of plant protection measures. Every year the struggle against crop pests and diseases covers an area of 27-30 million hectares, while the weeding of crops

with chemicals is practiced on 30-32 million hectares. Some 1,800 detachments are employed by Rosselkhozkhimiya in working with chemicals, while the kolkhozes and sovkhoses have more than 20,000 detachments and teams. The kolkhozes and sovkhoses are supplied with toxic chemicals to fight crop pests. However, they are very short of herbicides for chemical weeding and fungicides in the struggle against diseases. Thus, herbicides available for the treatment of soybeans do not exceed 46 percent of requirements, while those for sugar beets do not exceed 59 percent.

The use of biological plant protection methods, which also helped to protect the environment, must be expanded. About 10 million hectares under crops were cultivated with its help in 1981; this area must reach 15 million hectares by 1985. Obviously, in order to resolve this problem more scientific research work is required for the development of new active means for plant protection. Their industrial production must be increased and the technology governing their use must be improved.

The kolkhozes, sovkhoses and interfarm enterprises are working on the use of fertilizers and plant protection means, side by side with the selkhozkhimiya subunits. However, it is Rosselkhozkhimiya which is in charge of and bears full responsibility to the state for the condition of soil fertility and the organization of the efficient use of organic, chemical and lime fertilizers and plant protection chemicals, environmental protection and the use of chemicals in animal husbandry.

The organization of a unified specialized service created real opportunities for surmounting the lag in the development of chemization and for upgrading its role as one of the main factors in improving the economic efficiency of agricultural production. This service was created for the sake of the fields and the crops and the entire purpose of its activities is to serve the interests of kolkhozes and sovkhoses. However, this is not to say that its establishment relieves anyone from concern related to chemization. Unfortunately, we find among managers of selkhozkhimiya subunits vestiges of the narrow departmentalist approach. They are concerned with the fulfillment of the plants in terms of ton/kilometers, hectares, and so on, forgetting that the main indicators in their work are crop yields and public animal husbandry productivity.

The comprehensive agrochemical cultivation of the fields is one of the main lines of work of the agrochemical service. With conventional technology the use of various chemicals is not interrelated and the work is done on territorially scattered sectors. It is not purposefully aimed at achieving an optimal level of soil fertility within the shortest possible time. Practical experience has proved that the greatest results are obtained only through the comprehensive use of chemization. The combined application of chemical with organic fertilizers and lime or gypsum-containing materials and plant protection means, along with other agrotechnical methods, ensures a positive balance of nutritional elements in the soil and high and stable crop yields suitable for crop rotation purposes. Organizationally, the most convenient area for comprehensive chemization is the fallow field or the plot left free after the early crops have been harvested.

This work has been organized on a planned basis. The agrochemical study of the sector is conducted at the proper time. The resulting data are used in making cost estimates. Accordingly, the mechanized selkhozkhimiya detachments apply the necessary amounts of organic and mineral fertilizers, engage in chemical reclamation and process the crops with herbicides. If necessary, technical cultivation steps are taken to eliminate boundaries among small plots, even up the area, eliminate and remove low trees and brushes and flatten the land. After such "capital repairs" the farm is given the documentation for the field, guaranteeing the planned yields. This method makes it possible to organize the wages of selkhozkhimiya personnel directly on the basis of the end result--the yields. Last year field "capital repairs" were carried out on an area of 0.9 million hectares. This year the amount of such work will be increased by a factor of 1.5. In the future, most of the fallow land will be brought up by selkhozkhimiya to the planned fertility level.

Great attention is being paid to the formulation of comprehensive chemization programs, which call for the development of the material and technical base, engineering-research projects, research and application of scientific and practical achievements, cadre training and enhancement of skills, and implementation of a variety of socioeconomic measures aimed at further improving the system of agrochemical services to kolkhozes and sovkhoses.

Agrochemistry must meet important requirements. Through research and recommendations it must complete the development and practical application of a specific technology for the use of chemicals suitable for the individual fields and crop rotations. Unfortunately, some scientific research institutes and planning stations involved in agricultural chemization and engaged in resolving problems related to the expanded reproduction of soil fertility have not as yet organized their work. In this connection, the time has come to create in the country a single soil fertility scientific center. The activities of the Fertility Scientific Production Association, which was established and is operating in Moldavia, is worthy of attention and approval. Here, under the guidance of the Moldavian Scientific Research Soil Science and Agrochemical Institute imeni N. A. Dima, the Kishinev branch of the Central Institute of Agrochemical Services to Agriculture and an agrochemical laboratory are functioning.

Extensive work lies ahead in reorganizing agrochemical science, building laboratories and procuring the latest instruments and equipment. For example, the scientific and production base of the All-Russian Scientific Research Institute of Agricultural Chemization (VNIPTIKHIM) was created within a short period of time. Its purpose will be to organize the retraining of cadres for the Rosselkhozkhimiya system and the agrochemical services in Moscow Oblast.

Complex problems of agricultural chemization can be successfully resolved with the help of highly skilled agrochemical personnel. However, such specialists may be found in no more than one-quarter of all kolkhozes and sovkhoses. In recent years the graduating of such specialists by VUZs has been considerably reduced. Furthermore, the schools are training an

insufficient number of personnel with secondary specialized education. The time has come for each agricultural enterprise to have its chief agronomist-agrochemist in charge of organizing the efficient utilization of the land and fertilizers.

Important problems must be resolved by the unified centralized agrochemical service in the country this five-year plan and this very year. To this effect all services within the system must be mobilized along with all field workers so that chemization facilities can be efficiently used in obtaining the highest possible yields and successfully implementing the Food Program. The skillful and concerned utilization of the land means supplying the national economy and all Soviet people with abundant agricultural commodities and raw materials.

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NONCHERNOZEM ZONE--A COMMON CONCERN

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[Article by V. Arkhipenko]

[Text]

1

A journalists' conference, sponsored by KOMMUNIST together with the Bryansk Oblast CPSU Committee, the All-Union Commission on Problems of Publicism of the USSR Union of Journalists Board and the Bryansk Oblast Journalists Organization, was held in Bryansk to discuss agricultural, construction and socioeconomic problems of the development of the RSFSR Nonchernozem Zone and the tasks of the mass information media in this nationwide project. It was attended by the personnel of central, republic, oblast and rayon newspapers and radio and television representatives. The questions raised in the course of the exchange of views were discussed in the spirit of the decisions of the May 1982 CPSU Central Committee plenum, which adopted the broad long-term Food Program for the entire current decade.

In opening the conference, Ye. I. Sizenko, Bryansk Oblast CPSU Committee first secretary, pointed out the following:

"The May plenum of the party's Central Committee, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's report, the USSR Food Program approved by the plenum, and the party's Central Committee and government decrees which defined the ways and means for the implementation of the Food Program were events of tremendous importance in the life of the peoples of our country. They earmark the means for the further all-round dynamic development of the country's agroindustrial complex for the sake of the people's good. The most important economic summations contained in Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's report are a new outstanding contribution to the development of the party's agrarian policy.

The working people of the Nonchernozem Zone in the Russian Federation, which includes 29 oblasts and autonomous republics, must make a substantial contribution to the solution of the Food Program. This is an area inhabited by 61 million people, or slightly less than one-quarter of the country's population. The area accounts for almost one-half of all industrial enterprises in the RSFSR and includes its largest cities. The 9,600 kolkhozes and sovkhozes in this area have 47 million hectares in farmland and about 32 million hectares in arable land. The Nonchernozem accounts for about one-third of

the entire Russian Federation agricultural output, more than 60 percent of the potatoes produced in Russia and nearly all of the flax and flax goods.

This most promising agricultural area has adequate moisture and its soils respond suitably to fertilizers and reclamation. However, some of the natural characteristics of the zone present major difficulties in the development of agricultural production. The area has a large number of swamps and bushes, high land acidity and low natural soil fertility.

In his address to the participants in the conference, L. Ya. Florent'yev, RSFSR Minister of Agriculture, pointed out that as early as the March 1965 Central Committee plenum the question was raised of the accelerated upsurge of agriculture in this important region. The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Measures for the Further Development of Agriculture in the Nonchernozem Zone of the RSFSR" was passed on Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's initiative in 1974; in 1981 the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers passed the decree "On the Further Development and Increasing the Efficiency of Agriculture in the Nonchernozem Zone of the RSFSR in 1981-1985."

Kolkhoz and sovkhoz equipment availability has been substantially updated in the course of the five-year plan. Compared with the preceding five-year plan deliveries of chemical fertilizers have increased by a factor of 1.3. Some 355,000 hectares of irrigated and about 1 million hectares of drained land have been commissioned. The average annual production of agricultural commodities has increased by 33 percent compared with the 7th Five-Year Plan, as a result of which the volume of marketable food resources has increased.

However, the conference also pointed out that the rate of agricultural upsurge in the area failed to reach the planned level. The exceptionally adverse weather conditions, which could be described as natural disasters, which have afflicted this area during the past 4 years and particularly in 1981, were a major hindrance. The increase in the growth rates was also affected by the fact that in 5 years industry fell short of supplying agriculture with 30 million tons of chemical fertilizers (in terms of conventional units) and 33 million tons of lime, while land reclamation workers fell short of developing 184,000 hectares of irrigated and 654,000 hectares of drained land.

The participants in the conference noted that some of the essential reasons which affected the pace of development included insufficient work with the land, low farming standards and neglect of seed production. Hence the low yields of farm crops in many zonal farms, whereas leading kolkhozes and sovkhozes, which are truly concerned with the land, grow yields as good as those in the Kuban.

One of the basic problems in upgrading soil fertility is that of the more extensive use of organic fertilizers. The example of Leningrad Oblast, where up to 20 tons of organic fertilizer per hectare is used, clearly shows how yields can increase sharply. However, in some oblasts less than 5 tons of organic fertilizer per hectare are applied, such as in Gorkiy, Sverdlovsk,

Kirov, and Perm Oblasts and the Chuvash Autonomous Republic. Extremely little--less than 3 tons--is being used in the Mordovian ASSR and Tula Oblast.

No drastic increase in the quantity of organic fertilizer is possible from the livestock farms alone. As the participants in the conference emphasized, this task can be resolved only on the basis of the use of peat-manure compost. However, in order to procure such compost in the necessary amount in each kolkhoz, very simple facilities must be built and the reclamation organizations must increase their peat production.

Land reclamation is one of the key problems in the reorganization of the Nonchernozem. It is no accident that virtually all speakers discussed this problem to one degree or another. It was also the topic of a special address by A. A. Viksne, deputy chief of the Main Land Reclamation Administration of the RSFSR Nonchernozem Zone.

There is virtually no agricultural sector, he said, in which increased production is not related to the development of reclamation.

One of the sections in the Food Program deals with the further development of reclamation in the RSFSR Nonchernozem Zone. The scale of irrigation is increasing. A reconstruction will be undertaken of obsolete irrigation systems. The successful solution of these problems is being supported with adequate material resources: large production bases have been completed and the fleet of specialized equipment has been increased and updated.

However, this most important matter includes a number of unresolved problems. The speakers noted that during the last five-year plan most indicators of the reclamation plan were not reached. Yields from drained and irrigated areas remain insufficient. The equipment is still not being used adequately, the share of manual labor remains high and construction is frequently delayed. Also worrisome are the high cadre turnover and insufficient level of personnel training.

P. I. Agilin, head of the construction sector of the CPSU Central Committee Agricultural Department, discussed in his speech the vital problems of improving the work of rural construction workers. He emphasized that most of the funds channeled into the development of agriculture in the Nonchernozem Zone of the RSFSR goes into capital construction. During the 10th Five-Year Plan 32 billion rubles were invested in this area. Large enterprises were completed for the production of poultry meat and eggs. Currently, for example, nine-tenths of all the eggs received by the stores come from state poultry farms. Industrial-type enterprises have been built for the production of pork and complexes for the industrial production of beef are being commissioned.

A considerable percentage of the funds goes into strengthening the material and technical base of agriculture and enhancing the capacities of organizations engaged in rural construction. Enterprises producing construction materials and structures have been commissioned. However, their production

capacity is being reached too slowly. Nearly one-third of the funds invested in construction are bringing no returns and are practically frozen. The building of a number of enterprises has been delayed. Reinforced concrete must be brought from Moldavia, the Ukraine and even Central Asia, which is quite costly.

Various organizations, departments and kolkhozes and sovkhozes themselves are engaged in construction work in the Nonchernozem. The USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources is in charge of about 20 percent of the entire work. Interkolkhoz construction organizations account for a somewhat higher percentage and one-quarter of the construction is carried out by the kolkhozes and sovkhozes. The rest is being done by the construction ministries of rural and industrial construction and the USSR Ministry of Construction of Heavy Industry Enterprises. However, many contracting organizations within these departments and the Roskolkhozstroy Association failed to fulfill their plans for the construction of agricultural projects. The increased capacities of these organizations, which was accomplished during the 10th Five-Year Plan, will make it possible to increase the pace of rural construction.

Major problems face the Nonchernozem in connection with the stipulation in the Food Program of taking the processing of agricultural commodities closer to the production areas. The construction of industrial enterprises will be undertaken in kolkhozes and sovkhozes. New storage installations--vegetable storage areas, refrigerated areas and warehouses--will be built.

Under contemporary conditions and during the new stage of the party's agrarian policy, when a broad range of agricultural development problems is being comprehensively resolved and an agroindustrial complex is being created, the role of science becomes considerably greater. This problem was discussed by V. M. Kryazhkov, vice president of the All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences imeni V. I. Lenin and chairman of the presidium of the VASKHNIL Department for the RSFSR Nonchernozem Zone.

Scientists have drafted extensive comprehensive programs for ensuring the increased production of feeds and potatoes and recommendations for improving the use of the machine-tractor fleet. New animal husbandry and farming systems under the specific conditions of the Nonchernozem have been completed. A great deal is being done to ensure the optimal concentration of production, specialization and management.

The general direction pursued in the application of efforts, speakers emphasized, is increasing land fertility. Unassisted, the land can yield no more than 10 quintals of grain per hectare. With the use of scientifically recommended systems of organic-mineral mixtures, peat-manure composts, liming, and use of progressive experience, as confirmed by the actual experience of leading farms, yields can triple or quadruple. Nevertheless, the struggle for upgrading precisely the natural fertility of the land is not given "second priority" in the least. Crop rotation and the use of alfalfa and perennial grasses guarantee steady yield increases.

The Nonchernozem Zone is metaphorically described as the cradle of animal husbandry of the Russian Federation. Today it accounts for 35 percent of the milk and 30 percent of the meat produced in the republic. In the 1970s the zonal farms completed a large number of livestock complexes. Now the further expansion of the base of this sector will take place essentially through the reconstruction and expansion of existing livestock farms. Substantial possibilities exist of increasing production. So far the average indicator of annual milk production per cow in this zone is 2,300 liters, whereas leading farms obtain 5,000-6,000 liters.

Strengthening the feed base is the main key to the development of animal husbandry. The tremendous opportunities provided by the natural farmland in the Nonchernozem are still being poorly used. Sometimes large animal husbandry complexes in which large numbers of cattle are raised, are built far from these facilities. The development of breeding, the steady reinforcement of the herds with highly productive young offspring and the preservation and dissemination of the Yaroslavl, Kostroma and Kholmogorskiy breeds are of tremendous importance in the development of livestock breeding.

Potatoes are justifiably described by the people as the second bread. In the Nonchernozem Zone they are grown on an area of 1.3 million hectares. This accounts for two-thirds of the entire area in potatoes in the Russian Federation. The participants in the conference unanimously named Bryansk Oblast the flag bearer of potato growing, for all of its kolkhozes and sovkhozes are models of highly intensive potato production. Currently potato growing in the Bryansk area is being reorganized on an industrial basis.

In recent years the area in which this valuable crop is being grown is moving further north and today high and stable yields are obtained in the Karelian ASSR and the Komi ASSR. While mentioning achievements, the participants in the conference drew attention also to unresolved problems--a great deal of potatoes are lost in the field as a result of diseases (so far no truly efficient means to fight them have been developed). Storage losses remain "traditionally" high. We are also concerned by indicator gaps--in the zone yields average 60-80 quintals per hectare, compared with as many as 300 reached by the leading farms.

In recent years a great deal has been done in the Nonchernozem Zone to develop vegetable growing. Production and variety are being expanded and quality is improving. An example in this is set by Moscow, Leningrad and Perm Oblasts in which most of the vegetables are grown in specialized farms, the entire land has been irrigated and the material and technical facilities for processing and storing the produce have been consolidated. The efficiency of these measures is confirmed by the experience of the Detskoselskoye specialized association for vegetable production in Leningrad Oblast. Last year the farms within the association averaged 303 quintals of vegetables out of the 4,216 hectares cultivated. Five specialized associations in Leningrad Oblast account for the bulk of the entire production of vegetables.

This five-year plan for agriculture in the Nonchernozem is being given another powerful impetus. Compared with the previous 5-year period appropriations for its development have been increased by nearly 9 billion rubles. Whereas during the 10th Five-Year Plan about 1 million hectares of land were drained here, this five-year plan the figure will be increased by another 400,000. The growth rates of agricultural production in the area must become higher than the average for the Russian Federation. By 1985 the area will be producing 28.4 million tons of grain, 26 million tons of potatoes, 4.4 million tons of meat and 21.2 million tons of milk.

The working people in the other union republics are substantially helping the Nonchernozem. More than 11 percent of sovkhoz reclamation construction projects are in the hands of sponsors. The "named areas" of application of fraternal aid provided by the union republics enjoy great popularity. This applies to the Belorusskiy Sovkhoz in Pskov Oblast, Tashkentskiy in Novgorod Oblast, and Kirgizskiy in Yaroslavl Oblast. Sponsors from the Baltic republics, Central Asia and the Transcaucasus share their experience in land draining and irrigation, increasing the efficiency of reclamation equipment and practically proven organization of labor. The sponsorship aid given to the working people in the Nonchernozem is a clear example of the fraternal friendship among the peoples of our country.

During the 11th Five-Year Plan the scale of application of the efforts of union republics in this zone is being substantially expanded. The volume of their participation in installing reclamation systems and building industrial and social projects is increasing.

2

According to the latest census the rural population in the Nonchernozem Zone accounted for 24 percent of the total. It accounted for 15 percent of Sverdlovsk Oblast, 20 percent in Ivanovo Oblast and 22 percent in Yaroslavl and Tula Oblasts. In recent years difficulties have developed in ensuring cadres for agricultural production. From 85 to 90 percent of needs are met in leading skills such as mechanizers, animal husbandrymen and machine operators. As a result, a substantial amount of equipment remains unused. Under such circumstances the saturation of the zone with equipment will not yield desired results.

The migration of the rural population to the cities is a natural and irrepressible process. Naturally, however, it triggers many problems. It is not merely a matter of manpower shortages. For example, the migration of the rural population lowers the production of agricultural commodities in private plots. Yet today their share in the production of potatoes, vegetables, meat, milk and eggs accounts for up to 30 percent of the total in many oblasts. The former kolkhoz members turn from producers into consumers of agricultural commodities. The reduced size of the rural population forces the kolkhozes and sovkhozes to seek additional reserves to compensate losses in the overall volume of output.

The problem of "remoteness" is quite frequently raised in the periodical press. The overwhelming majority of lagging kolkhozes and sovkhoses are located precisely in remote areas. A great deal is being said about it but practical experience indicates that it is precisely such kolkhozes and sovkhoses that are given lesser capital investments and material and technical resources. Contracting and construction organizations come to such farms less frequently. It is precisely here that roadlessness is most tangible and consumer, cultural and medical services are the least developed. And it is precisely here that migration processes are most keenly felt.

The social reorganization of the countryside is the key to changing this situation and it was natural for precisely this problem to be the focal point of attention at the conference. Its solution, the speakers emphasized, largely determines the creation of stable labor collectives in kolkhozes and sovkhoses.

Social problems related to the development of the Nonchernozem were discussed by G. B. Komrakov, IZVESTIYA special correspondent, L. L. Potapov, deputy editor-in-chief of the newspaper LENINSKOYE ZNAMYA (Komi ASSR), I. I. Pyrkh, special correspondent of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA for Smolensk, Bryansk and Orel Oblasts, G. A. Dzhanikyan, head of the publicistic department of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA (Armenian SSR), I. S. Dobin, deputy editor-in-chief of the consolidated newspaper TRUD in Klintsey (Bryansk Oblast), A. S. Galunina, Kostroma correspondent for the newspaper SEVERNAYA PRAVDA and others.

This five-year plan huge funds are being appropriated for the social reorganization of the countryside--about 10 billion rubles. The resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress stipulate that "the implementation of the comprehensive program for the conversion of the RSFSR Nonchernozem Zone into an area of highly productive crop growing and animal husbandry and the development of related industrial sectors will continue. Priority will be given to the construction of housing, automotive vehicle roads, and sociocultural and communal-consumer projects." The plan calls for the construction of 34 million square meters of housing, building children's preschool institutions for 230,000 students and clubs with 274,000 seats. Consumer services to the rural population will be increased by almost one-half. A total of 23,000 kilometers of water mains will be laid in settlements.

The specific task is to build an adequate amount of housing and cultural projects in the kolkhozes and sovkhoses (above all those short of manpower), which will help to ensure each farm with skilled cadres of mechanizers and animal husbandrymen and keep them in the countryside. This was the topic discussed by V. S. Rogachev, chairman of the Druzhba Kolkhoz, Bryanskiy Rayon, Bryansk Oblast. Ten years ago the farm had a severe shortage of cadres and the size of the able-bodied population was declining steadily. In 1972 the new kolkhoz leadership drafted a general plan for the development of the Druzhba Kolkhoz and undertook its systematic implementation. In 10 years more than 100 apartment units, a hostel, a new school and a house of culture were built. The board encouraged individual construction and allocated the construction materials and transportation facilities to the kolkhoz members. This stabilized the number of employed people and the kolkhoz has all the specialists it needs.

By decision of the May CPSU Central Committee plenum the house-building combines in the cities will direct some of their output to the countryside. The local soviets have the right to allocate as much as 10 percent of their funds for housing construction for kolkhozes and sovkhozes. One out of 5 rubles of capital investments in the Nonchernozem will be used to build housing and cultural-consumer facilities.

However, in a number of areas housing construction is taking place slowly. Whereas the average construction of apartment units is 26 per sovkhoz in Leningrad Oblast and 24 in Omsk Oblast, it is no more than 5 in Kaluga Oblast and 7 in Bryansk and Ryazan Oblasts and the Chuvash ASSR.

The quality of construction was severely criticized at the conference. Both plans and practical executions are frequently unsatisfactory. The speakers pointed out that those who move into new houses in the countryside are frequently displeased with the small sizes of entrance halls and kitchens. Some blueprints do not include gardens for growing flowers and vegetables or farm outbuildings. The monotony and impersonality of many buildings were justifiably criticized. Yet, such buildings are meant to last decades.

Improving housing conditions and the building of cultural centers and sports facilities in the countryside is of tremendous importance. Equally important is improving working conditions. Practical experience indicates that the young people from even the most urbanized villages leave for the city, dissatisfied with the heavy manual harvesting of potato and vegetable crops, with the conditions of caring for the livestock and the methods for the removal of the manure existing in many livestock farms.

It is one thing when dozens of people manually collect and load the manure in the livestock farm of a kolkhoz, and spread it on the fields manually, and an entirely different matter when this is done with machines. All production sectors at the animal husbandry complex imeni Lensovet (Leningrad Oblast) are mechanized. Here no more than two people per shift care for a herd of 1,200 cows, including feeding, milking and manure removal.

The participants in the conference pointed out that improvements in labor conditions and upgrading labor productivity depend on the machine-building ministries. A cabbage-harvesting combine was developed "on a cooperative basis" by enterprises in Leningrad. In the autumn of 1981 it successfully harvested an area of 1,500 hectares. Although the harvester was rated highly by specialists, to this day it exists only as a single prototype although acute manpower shortages are felt everywhere during the cabbage-picking season. An experimental model of the YaSK-170 highly productive fodder-harvesting combine, operating perfectly in all weather conditions, was developed in Yaroslavl. Its indicators are higher compared with similar domestic and foreign combines. However, to this day other less productive models are being produced. Carrot-harvesting combines, hay tedders, and manual mowers with a mechanical drive find it impossible to "make their way." Yet who if not the Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building should be interested in such prototypes.

One of the acute problems is that of production costs of agricultural machinery. Convincing examples to this effect were cited at the conference. It is true that the capacity of the bunker of the Niva combine is 30 percent higher than of the USK-4 model. However, its price is 50 percent higher. It is true that the T-150 tractor has twice the power of the T-75, but it costs three times as much. Naturally, given this situation, the kolkhozes find it unprofitable to purchase the new equipment.

3

The mass information media pay tremendous attention to the Nonchernozem. The journalists and agricultural workers who addressed the conference spoke of the tremendous response among the millions of readers to materials published in PRAVDA, IZVESTIYA, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, and SEL'SKAYA ZHIZN or carried out by the all-union radio and central television. Local progressive experience is discussed in articles, essays and correspondences and in radio and television broadcasts. The journalists go to the most remote areas in the search for better and more efficient farming methods. For example, IZVESTIYA dedicated an entire section to the Krasnyy Oktyabr' Sovkhoz in Starodubskiy Rayon, Bryansk Oblast. SEL'SKAYA ZHIZN has published extensive materials on the Starodubskaya PMK [Mobile Mechanized Columns]. As was pointed out by the participants in the conference, such materials are of great help to all reclamation workers in the Nonchernozem in upgrading labor effectiveness and improving the organization of the work.

The press in the union republics as well is always concerned with problems of the Nonchernozem. In particular, the editors of SOVET UZBEKISTONI have acquired interesting experience in this connection.

D. Khalkasimov, department head in this newspaper, said at the conference that the republic's press has dealt with this problem since 1974, following the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree on measures to develop the Nonchernozem and with the arrival of the first mechanized columns from Uzbekistan to Novgorod and Ivanovo Oblasts. Since that time SOVET UZBEKISTONI has had permanent sections on relations between the republic and the Nonchernozem. Permanent worker correspondent centers were set up by the editors in Novgorod and Ivanovo and, recently, in Vladimir, which supply the newspaper with essays, sketches, correspondence, current information and photographs. The authors are reclamation workers, crop growers, animal husbandrymen, or local party and trade union personnel. When the results of sponsorship work for 1981 were summed up, the USSR Union of Journalists awarded a prize to the journalistic organization of Uzbekistan.

The participants in the conference also pointed out that occasionally the press in the union republics finds it difficult to obtain materials on the Nonchernozem. In their view, it would be useful to set up press groups under the sectorial ministries, which could supply the press with current information, draft surveys and sponsor articles by leading production workers, specialists and scientists. The wish was expressed to organize closer ties between the republic press and the newspapers published in the Nonchernozem Zone.

The broadest possible response on the part of the readers is guaranteed whenever the mass information media find progressive experience, expose shortcomings promptly, indicate the specific culprits and discuss ripe problems.

B. V. Manyakina, head of the agricultural department of the Main Propaganda Editorial Board, Central Television, shared in this connection the experience of television journalists working on the "Rural Hour" telecasts. Many topics discussed in this program are of tremendous interest to the audience and not only among people living in rural areas. Sociological surveys conducted in Moscow, for example, have indicated that 40 percent of the capital's population watch the "Rural Hour" program. As a rule, each suitable topic triggers a large flood of letters and a reaction on the part of the viewers. For example, programs on the assembly line-shop system in animal husbandry not only triggered a response but inspired working people in a number of Nonchernozem oblasts to visit the areas described in the telecast, to look at practical developments, make a thorough study of recommended experience and applied in their own farms.

Naturally, the moment a sensitive question is raised the reader, radio listener or television viewer waits for the solution. However, journalists who raise questions are rarely given the opportunity to inform their audience, for sometimes they fail to see any real results or specific actions taken by those they criticize.

It also happens that criticized departments pass resolutions which remain unfulfilled. In that same "Rural Hour" telecast for a number of years the problem of small-sized equipment for small fields in the Nonchernozem and for private plots has been discussed. The public's reaction to this question has been heated but no answer can be given to the letters received by the editors, for there have been no results as yet. Sometimes the departments do not even answer.

The exchange of views at the conference proved one more time that purposeful and efficiently planned and organized campaigns sponsored by mass information media are very effective. Indicative in this respect are the regular materials issued by the "Economic Analysis Staff" set up by the editors of the newspaper BRYANSKIY RABOCHIY. Newspaper editor V. D. Mekhedov, who described its experience, said that the association among journalists, specialists, scientists and leading workers makes it possible skillfully to analyze major problems affecting the development of the oblast economy and the implementation of obligations, and to determine their cost.

V. D. Gruzin, editor of the ideological department of the Ukrainian newspaper SIL'S'KI VISTI, who discussed the most important problem of proper treatment of the land, offered a convincing example of the effectiveness of articles published in the press.

"We consulted," he said, "scientists, writers, leading workers and farm managers on how to cover this topic more extensively and clearly (as requested in letters to the editor). The best way was suggested to us by mechanizer Yemel'yan Parubok from Cherkassy Oblast. He said the following:

'Let us think of each little bit of land, whether belonging to the kolkhoz or the private plot. Let each bit of land work for the future Food Program.' We asked him to express his opinion in the newspaper. The result was a substantive article entitled 'Being the Master of the Land.' This triggered a large number of letters to the editor, for Parubok had raised questions of interest to many. He described not only the work of those directly farming the land, raising grain crops and other produce; he also discussed the work of designers and construction workers, asking why was farmland used for building purposes although other land could be used for that purpose. He addressed himself to the miners, asking them more rapidly to rebuild the land and return it to us. He spoke of workers laying gas pipelines ignoring the configuration of the fields, setting up poles in such a way that no piece of equipment could be used. Briefly stated, he appealed to the conscience of all people using the land and not only those who farm it. This material was approved by the Communist Party of the Ukraine Central Committee. It became the topic of a major discussion among the newspaper's readers. The people wrote a great deal, indicating what was good and what was bad and what one must do, saying things such as, in our kolkhoz we found 10 hectares of land which were put to active use. Others said that they had developed a method to improve the cultivation of the land. In a word, the impact of the article was tremendous."

An interesting method was developed by LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA, which organized an oblast review-competition among masters of animal husbandry with a special prize to be awarded to the winners. The editors developed a system of comprehensive evaluations which enabled them objectively to consider the results achieved not only by frontrankers but also by people considered average or even lagging. Journalist Yu. A. Chuvashov said that the main idea was to cover the entire technological chain along the socialist competition and focus on its main aspects and positive and negative sides, from the taking of obligations to the system of summing up results. This led to the appearance of the section "The Competition: A Social Foreshortening." The first article was by Hero of Socialist Labor Tat'yana Zakharova "Why Am I Competing?" This was followed by articles by two workers--"I Do Not Envy Frontrankers" and "Not a Privilege But a Duty." The clash of conflicting opinions enabled us to shed light on sensitive problems of the organization of the competition based on the views, emotions, judgments and thoughts of the participants.

This was followed by a new section--"View on the Social Problem." It opened with a round-table exchange of views by sociologists. This was followed by articles on interfarm cooperation and agroindustrial integration. All of these articles triggered the broadest possible response of the readership.

Each of the Leningrad newspapers has its range of agricultural problems. LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA concentrates on problems of competition and intensification of crop growing and animal husbandry. SMENA covers extensively the settling of young people in the countryside. The Pioneer newspaper LENINSKIYE ISKRY raises more frequently than others problems of vocational guidance, while VECHERNIY LENINGRAD focuses on meeting rural demands and sponsorship assistance.

Kh. I. Makhayev, a contributor to the newspaper POLYARNAYA PRAVDA (Murmansk Oblast) gave an example of the way a newspaper can have a practical influence on economic problems.

At one point the editors received continuous complaints concerning the quality of the milk. In clarifying the matter, the editors saw that all dairy farms had the same type of premises, used the same type of feeds and had cadres of approximately similar professional training. Yet the quality of the milk substantially varied among the different sovkhoses. The newspaper formulated the problem as follows: it was entirely a matter of the people, their attitude toward the work and their responsibility.

The real situation in the best and the worst farms was analyzed in a series of articles, proving that the attitude toward the work affected end results. The results of the work speak for themselves. Five years ago, along with inspecting the quality and purchases of the produce, the newspaper launched a campaign for upgrading the quality of the milk. In 1975 50 percent of the milk was rated first grade. Today the figure has reached 90 percent.

L. R. Tamm, SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA special correspondent, described the way his newspaper encourages the lagging farms to reach the level of frontrankers. The Communist Party of Estonia Central Committee called for achieving the main increase in output by urging on losing and unprofitable kolхозes and sovkhoses. The newspaper describes in detail the way this is accomplished in one rayon or another and helps to determine the reasons for lagging and to earmark means for eliminating shortcomings. A noteworthy experience is that of the rayon newspaper TRUD (Bryansk Oblast). The land reclamation workers in Klintsovskiy Rayon, where it is published, have reclaimed 1,000 hectares. The journalists decided to find out the way the new land was being used. A voluntary department was set up by the editors consisting of two reclamation workers, both great enthusiasts and experts in their work. They made 13 sudden inspections and organized a round-table discussion attended by heads of farms, reclamation specialists and party workers. The work of the editors was approved by the party obkom and awarded first prize in the oblast competition of newspapers for best coverage of Nonchernozem problems.

The press has no task more noble than the vivid and exciting description of our contemporaries whose hands are creating the wealth of the entire society. In discussing this topic, Yu. N. Nikolayev, deputy editor of the party life section of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, said:

"Unfortunately, we pay excessive attention to the discussion of all kinds of technological processes and possible parameters, while man himself is frequently ignored. Yet all of us understand that the tremendous Food Program which has now been planned and the decisions which have been made will be carried out by specific individuals. I believe that our specific task is to encourage these people, to awaken new forces in them, to create the type of moral atmosphere in which all economic problems can be resolved more efficiently. The most honorable task of a journalist is to deal with the problem of man. We must write emotionally and vividly about those who are our motive constructive force. We must do everything possible to meet the needs of man and to create for him better living conditions and spiritual comfort."

However, practical experience has indicated that such materials are not frequently published and are particularly rare in the oblast press. Many oblast newspapers avoid the discussion of problem and suitable materials and sharp critical articles. Virtually no essays or publicistic articles are printed. The result is that some oblast newspapers become similar to dry information handouts.

E. K. Khanberg, head of the agricultural section of the newspaper TSINYA (Latvian SSR) pointed out that journalists rarely deal with moral problems, human interrelationships, and the attitude of man toward labor and nature, and pay little attention to ethical values.

4

In summing up the results of the conference, it was noted that the main purpose of the exchange of views can be formulated as follows: how to make the lives of people who live from the earth richer? Man cannot be considered independently of his place of work and habitat. In this respect, journalism should change its very tonality in its consideration of many problems. Occasionally we note a regret for the past. The past was good, it is being said, in the past people lived enclosed in settlements in which all traditions and values were preserved, although that type of life had many oppressive elements. Yet it is now being said almost regretfully that a new type of man now exists. However, today's peasant wants to live as well as the worker and the urban resident. He is unwilling to live in small three-farmstead hamlets. This particularly applies to young people. People who have seen mechanization in kolkhoz and sovkhos fields want their private plot to be mechanized as well. A young woman is unwilling to spend half her time surrounded by manure, as did her grandmother who had no choice.

Under present-day conditions, when people have tasted the pleasure of leisure time and the benefits of culture to be enjoyed, the only way is adapting urban forms of life to rural conditions and rationally combining the features of town and country. It is precisely in this case that the proper tonality in the attitude toward man is important. Population mobility is a law of social development and is inevitable.

It is no accident that we keep telling young people that all roads are open to them. Today no one has the right to tell a young person that not all roads are open to him. We must industrialize farm labor and urbanize rural life without neglecting the best features of the countryside, i.e., the ties with nature, of which urban residents are deprived. This is the only possible way leading to the full socialist development of our countryside. We shall consider that the problem has been resolved successfully when the reverse migration from town to country begins, although on a minimal basis.

One of the most important problems is the attitude toward the land. The example of small countries clearly proves how the lack of vast areas makes necessary the efficient use of each square meter of land. In our country however, one comes across dumps, wasteland and areas strewn with garbage, which is harmful to the health and, naturally, antiesthetic....

Our main attitude toward the land is influenced by the attitude toward soil and fertility conditions, which give birth to all life. The attitude toward the land and farming standards are the very foundations of agriculture. Occasionally we are told that the fertile stratum has decreased everywhere, that the soil is being exhausted and that the only solution lies in agricultural chemization. However, T. S. Mal'tsev is convinced that the natural fertility of the soil can be efficiently preserved and increased with the help of biological factors as well. Without ensuring the efficient increase in the amount of humus--the fertile stratum--from the viewpoint of agrarian production our difficulties will not be eliminated.

The delegates to the conference also said that the press deals insufficiently with the social consequences stemming from the implementation of the Food Program. Let us consider changes in the organizational structure of the agroindustrial complex. New enterprises are being essentially developed, which will cover the rayon's farms regardless of sectorial jurisdiction. At the same time, however, a new structure is being developed, organizationally including enterprises with different forms of socialist ownership. This means that in practical terms differences between kolkhozes and sovkhoses are being gradually eliminated. Presently the difference between sovkhos workers and kolkhoz members is quite insignificant or almost imperceptible. A process of tremendous importance is taking place under our own eyes--the elimination of the basic class difference which exists within our society. Regrettably, this process has still not been translated into the language of mass agitation and propaganda or depicted with proper depth.

At the 26th party congress Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said that the establishment of a classless social structure will take place in its essential and basic features within the historical framework of mature socialism. This is not an assumption but a scientific conclusion. In this case the status of the peasant will become increasingly similar to that of the worker, which will demand of journalism a reinterpretation of many social problems.

Many striking changes have taken place in the life of the peasant in recent years. Let us take as an example the extension of social consumption funds to kolkhoz members, including pensions and trade union membership for kolkhoz members. Have we said anything instructive regarding the legal changes which have taken place in the status of the peasant? This was considered an ordinary phenomenon, although it represents the enrollment of the peasantry in the working class. Even the change of internal passports, which was made of late, was a significant movement in that direction. Let us put greater emphasis on such matters rather than accept them as something self-evident, for they represent a real equalization between kolkhoz members and workers and the establishment of a truly classless society, something which will be helped by the development of the agroindustrial complex on a modern industrial basis.

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ESSENTIAL PREREQUISITE FOR RATIONAL MANPOWER UTILIZATION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 82 pp 56-58

[Letter to the editor by Candidate of Technical Sciences G. Mikheyev, head of capital investment planning and efficiency sector, RSFSR Gosplan TsENII (Central Scientific Research Institute of Economics)]

[Text] The press is extensively discussing problems related to improvements in the economic mechanism. In this connection, I would like to draw attention to a problem the solution of which, in my view, is an essential premise for its efficient functioning. It is a question of balancing the number of jobs, labor resources and capital investments. The need for such a balance was indicated in the "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990," approved by the 26th CPSU Congress.

The topical nature of this problem is based, first of all, on the manpower shortage which has developed in recent years, which has resulted in a number of adverse economic and social consequences. Secondly, it is based on the assessment of the number of jobs at operating enterprises, which is needed in order to plan substantiatedly the size of the personnel and to control it. Thirdly, a properly organized assessment of the number of existing jobs will enable us to assess the efficiency of newly installed equipment from the viewpoint of its influence on manpower savings. Finally, the number of new jobs must be based on the availability of manpower and capital investment ceilings.

We know that a production facility is broken down into individual shops and sectors which, in turn, consist of a sum total of workplaces interrelated through specific technological and organizational functions. The workplace is a unit production force characterized by a certain sum total of productive capital and manpower needed in the implementation of the organizationally and technologically individual part of the production process based on normed efficiency. Therefore, the workplace is the primary cell of a production facility, a unit of production force which can yield proper returns only on the basis of the necessary capital-labor ratio and availability of raw materials, materials, semifinished goods and other labor objects and manpower possessing specific vocational training which can operate the productive capital. It is only the sum total of labor means, labor objects and manpower that turns the workplace into an effective production apparatus which can create the product needed by society.

As a productive force unit, the workplace is subject to constant changes as a result of improvements in labor tools (machines, mechanisms, industrial buildings, installations, roads, canals, warehouses, etc.), the use of more efficient labor objects (raw materials and materials), the application of more skilled manpower and steady improvements in the overall organization of the labor and production processes. As a result, the production possibilities of the individual workplace are steadily upgraded. This creates prerequisites for reducing the overall number of workplaces and, consequently, the size of the personnel.

The purposeful influencing of the size of the manpower by sector and territory and the reaching of a balance between the number of jobs and available manpower resources necessarily presume the use of a corresponding indicator for assessment and planning purposes. The view is sometimes expressed in economic publications that no methodical approach exists to determining the number of jobs. However, this opinion does not reflect very accurately the actual situation. As we know, each enterprise assesses its manpower requirements (industrial-production personnel). The existing normative base used in determining the size of industrial-production personnel is entirely acceptable in determining the number of jobs, for such computations are inter-related.

In actual economic practice, however, the planned need of enterprises for manpower is still based as a rule not on a computation of the number of necessary jobs but on the basis of the actual level of employment in a given enterprise and entire sector. Under such circumstances it is difficult, if not impossible, to speak of a substantiated planned personnel size. It is no secret that in many enterprises we note both a shortage of cadres and an insufficiently efficient use of the personnel, with extensive intraproduction manpower reserves and even surpluses.

We believe that all of this convincingly favors the inclusion of the workplace indicator in the registration documents of the industrial enterprise (separately by category of industrial-production personnel). This indicator could be refined annually based on data of the number of newly created or eliminated jobs at the enterprise. Such computations should be included in the plans for enterprise reconstruction and technical retooling, the installation of new equipment and organizational and technical measures. This would enable us to evaluate alternative capital investments and individual technical solutions from the viewpoint of the possibility of reducing the number of jobs and, consequently, releasing personnel for the new enterprises in the making of plan decisions. Such registration data would make it possible to determine the number of jobs by subsector, sector, ministry and department, and to estimate ceilings for worker and employee personnel.

The job balance must become the binding link between plans for manpower assignments and reassignments and capital investments. The introduction of such balances in planning practices would enable us not only to provide an objective assessment of the actual availability of manpower in the individual sectors and enterprises and to determine planned personnel requirements but,

through the allocation of capital investments and implementation of organizational-technical measures, to regulate the number of jobs in enterprises, sectors and material production at large, thus balancing jobs with available manpower.

The number of jobs in the sectors and in material production as a whole could be purposefully influenced in a number of ways. The most important among them is the apportioning of capital investments among new construction and reconstruction and the technical retooling of existing enterprises.

The commissioning of new enterprises requires the hiring of additional manpower. Therefore, all other conditions being equal, increasing the share of new construction leads to a considerable increase in the number of people employed in material production. Conversely, technical retooling and reconstruction of existing enterprises, as a result of which a considerable number of workplaces with low technical labor facilities were eliminated, enables us to release a large number of personnel and, consequently, to reduce overall additional manpower requirements. Under contemporary conditions, when the opportunities for involving additional manpower in material production have become practically exhausted, the problem of ensuring the new enterprises with manpower can be resolved only by releasing such manpower from existing enterprises as a result of their technical retooling and improved labor and production organization.

The increase (or reduction) in the number of jobs in a given sector or additional manpower requirements depend not only on the ratio between capital investments allocated for new construction and the reconstruction of existing enterprises but the structure of capital outlays made in the course of the reconstruction and technical retooling. Estimates indicate that each 1 million rubles invested in the mechanization of auxiliary processes releases four to five times more personnel compared with the same amount of outlays in basic production. The mechanization of manual labor, whose share remains extremely high in all industrial sectors, conceals tremendous possibilities of releasing manpower which is urgently needed by our national economy.

The indicator of the number of jobs enables us to assess more accurately the effectiveness of technical progress and the use of a scientific organization of labor. The dynamics of this indicator in a sector enables us to determine the extent to which, as a result of its higher productivity and the use of mechanized rather than manual labor, the new equipment leads to lowered labor outlays.

Estimates prove that in 1980 the shortage of industrial-production personnel in Soviet industry amounted to about 2 million people. This proves one more time the need to adopt effective measures to release workers from operating enterprises by intensifying the production process, on the one hand, and the more careful and efficient development of new construction programs, on the other.

Both available manpower resources and capital investments are limiting factors in the job balance. Therefore, in order to balance the number of newly created jobs with allocated capital investments, we must compute yet another indicator--the cost of creating a new job.

The purpose of this indicator is to reflect the total social outlays required for the efficient functioning of the sum total of productive capital and manpower per workplace, thus including outlays for its capital-labor ratio, availability of labor objects and the training and hiring of personnel.

The volume of capital investments in related sectors needed to provide labor objects per workplace in basic production can be determined on the basis of computations with the help of technical norms of volumes of raw and other materials processed in a given workplace in terms of units of time and normed specific capital investments needed per unit capacity for the production of specific raw and other materials in related sectors. Outlays for the recruitment of workers needed to man the newly opened jobs include expenditures related to vocational training and skill improvements, relocation expenditures and specific comprehensive outlays for the creation of the social infrastructure (per workplace).

Rough estimates made by this author, based on materials from the planned construction of a clothing factory in Togliatti show that the cost per job was 39,319 rubles. Outlays in basic production (direct capital investments) accounted for no more than 22 percent of the total capital outlays needed to ensure the real functioning of the newly opened job (i.e., supplying it with raw and other materials and staffing it with suitably skilled workers).

According to published data (see, for example, "Legkaya Promyshlennost': Ekonomicheskiye Problemy Razmeshcheniya" [Light Industry: Economic Problems of Location] by Ye. A. Afanas'yevskiy, Mysl', Moscow, 1976, pp 152-153), the share of outlays for basic production in the shoe manufacturing industry in the USSR remains low, accounting for no more than 17.2 percent of the overall (total) capital outlays. In the individual sectors of the textile industry the indicator ranges between 57 and 62 percent. Therefore, in the overall volume of capital investments from 38 to 80 percent of the total capital outlays go to related material production sectors and the social infrastructure. This ratio is typical of many other industrial sectors.

The need to plan capital investments appropriated for new construction on the basis of total comprehensive outlays (basic production and related production sectors and the social infrastructure) is entirely obvious. The incomplete consideration of such outlays and the appropriation of capital investments only for basic production lead to disharmony in the installation of capacities and their incomplete use because of manpower shortages and the lack of raw and other materials. Yet it is precisely such factors that assume priority among the reasons which hinder the prompt mastery of production capacities.

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IMPROVING THE PLANNING AND ASSESSMENT OF NEW EQUIPMENT EFFICIENCY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 82 pp 58-62

[Letter to the editor by Doctor of Economic Sciences Z. Korovina]

[Text] One of the main socioeconomic tasks formulated at the 26th CPSU Congress for the 11th Five-Year Plan and the 1980s is the accelerated enhancement of science and technology in all economic sectors. "The utilization of scientific discoveries and inventions is the decisive and most sensitive sector today," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized in the CPSU Central Committee accountability reports to the congress. "Scientific research and design-engineering should come economically and organizationally closer to the production process."

The utilization of scientific and technical achievements in the general "science-technology-production" process is the final stage in the course of which both the successes and shortcomings of all previous work as well as end results and the efficiency of the entire process become apparent. Our achievements in scientific and technical progress are considerable. Unfortunately, however, we must admit that as a whole its efficiency remains insufficiently high. The most characteristic shortcomings in this area are familiar: the long periods of time and high outlays in the utilization of scientific discoveries, inventions and developments and the frequent manufacturing of obsolete equipment, the delayed commissioning of new shops and production facilities and their slow mastery.

The studies conducted by the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Industrial Economics proved that existing shortcomings in the installation of new equipment in industry are largely caused by imperfect planning methodology and methods for stimulating the efficiency of scientific and technical progress and the related accelerated activities of industrial enterprises and production associations. Thus, today the plans and reports on technical development do not include the entire volume of installed equipment but only an insignificant share--about 10 percent. The methods and indicators (based on outlays) applied in planning and assessing the efficiency of measures related to new equipment and capital investments, which are different from the indicators on the basis of which the work efficiency of enterprises as a whole is assessed, do not reflect the actual end results of such applications. In summing up the results of enterprise production activities the quantitative measure of influence of new equipment on production efficiency

is not established. Nor do we determine the degree of innovation of applied equipment, as a result of which quite frequently we produce morally obsolete and inefficient models. All this delays scientific and technical progress and adversely affects public production efficiency.

Radical improvements in the systems of planning, incentive and assessment of the efficiency of scientific and technical progress are a mandatory prerequisite for the acceleration of the installation of new equipment in production facilities and, on this basis, upgrading its efficiency. Above all, we must plan, take into consideration and, consequently, control and encourage the efficiency of all installed equipment.

Currently so-called new equipment steps taken in operating shops, essentially based on special financing sources such as the consolidated fund for the development of science and technology, the development fund, the production development fund and USSR Gosbank loans, are targets of planning and accounting of scientific and technical progress at enterprises. The combined forms on plans for technical development and organization of production and the statistical reports on outlays on measures for new equipment and their economic efficiency include a rather large number of such measures--ranging from 20 to 100 or more per industrial enterprise.

However, such measures have no substantial influence on the economy. Their cost does not exceed on an average 1 percent (2 percent in machine building) of the cost of all productive capital in enterprises and associations and accounts for 10 to 20 percent of the cost of the entire installed equipment. This is understandable, for in terms of content the currently planned and reported measures related to new equipment consist mostly of partial changes aimed at improving the technology, updating the equipment and mechanizing and automating production. For example, this could include the installation of centralized tool sharpening or the manufacturing of special attachments for assembling one machine unit or another.

The bulk of the new equipment installed in industrial enterprises and production associations, financed out of capital investments, takes place as a result of the installation of new production facilities (shops, sectors, machine units) based on technical retooling, reconstruction, expansion and new construction. As a rule, however, this equipment is not included in the current plans and reports on technical developments and steps related to new equipment. Its actual efficiency is not assessed once it has been installed. It is only the quantitative indicators that are considered in terms of such equipment--in the plan and reports on the installation of capacities, productive capital and capital investments. It is true that in the course of selective studies achieved economic indicators are compared against planned levels. However, this is done essentially in order to regulate the time needed to reach planned capacity. The main feature in such a selective study, which covers an average of one-seventh to one-tenth of all installed projects, does not allow us to determine the actual efficiency of the full amount of installed equipment.

This system for planning capital construction and capital investments developed historically during a period when the development of production took place primarily on an extensive basis and when current production activities and quantitative indicators of the volume of output determined the results of economic management to a decisive extent. Under such circumstances the report (plan) on capital investments and capital construction was separate from the reports (plans) related to new equipment. Yet a significant portion of capital investments was channeled precisely into the installation of essentially new equipment. Technical retooling, reconstruction, expansion of new production facilities and new construction are the most important ways for the utilization of scientific and technical achievements today.

The conversion of our national economy to the track of intensification will be possible only if reconstruction, technical retooling, expansion of existing production facilities and new construction are achieved more economically and on a modern technical basis. The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Improving Planning and Strengthening the Influence of the Economic Mechanism on Upgrading Production Efficiency and Work Quality" emphasizes the need to "design and build new and expand and reconstruct existing enterprises on the basis of highly efficient production technology and the use of the latest equipment, which will ensure in the newly installed capacities a production output which, in terms of its technical standards and quality will match the highest domestic and foreign standards or will exceed them." In order to resolve this problem more successfully, we consider it important, along with control over quantitative indicators, which characterize the volumes of capital investments and the commissioning of productive capital and capacities, to take into consideration the actual efficiency of all newly commissioned production facilities. It is urgently necessary for the plans of enterprises, associations and ministries to include a unified comprehensive section on the application of the latest achievements of science and technology at existing or newly commissioned projects. The plan implementation assessment should be consistent with this fact.

The study of enterprise activities in several industrial sectors indicates that occasionally equipment, the efficiency of which does not exceed that of already operating equipment, is applied in reconstruction, expansion, technical retooling and new construction.

The huge one-time outlays for the utilization of scientific and technical achievements, capital investments above all, can be justified, particularly today, only if essentially new or more advanced equipment is installed, which will enable us to increase the volume of output needed by the national economy and to upgrade the efficiency of industrial output. Therefore, we must install only new equipment financed out of capital investments, the unified science and technology development fund and the production development fund. Currently all inventions and rationalization suggestions are based on production cost. Whenever it is a question of truly new equipment, it too should be financed out of said special funds. All other measures and rationalization suggestions should be carried out on the basis of production cost, without outlays from the special funds used to finance new equipment.

It's obvious that in order to block the production of morally obsolete equipment through planning and economic incentive, we must take into consideration and control the extent of the novelty of suggested designs and technical solutions. Within each industrial sector and for each five-year plan, by order of the ministry or the industrial association, the names and parameters of essentially new and more advanced equipment recommended for installation. This is entirely possible, as confirmed, in particular, by the experience of the USSR Ministry of Coal Industry.

The ministry issues annual orders on plans for production and application of the achievements of science and technology, coordinated with plans for material and technical procurements. The orders include plans for technical retooling and installation of progressive technology and for the mechanization and automation of production processes. In turn, the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Coal Industry, for example, would issue a similar order for its own production associations. The orders issued by the associations indicate not only the planned level of coal extraction but also specific measures for the installation of new equipment and for the mechanization and automation of the work in the mines.

We must point out, however, that frequently on the basis of the orders equipment which has been used for a number of decades is classified as new. For example, mechanized sets based on narrow span combines, machine tools and waterproof supports have been used in Ukrainian industry since 1964. To this day, however, this equipment is reported as new in the plans and reports. In this connection, it appears necessary to establish and observe strictly normative deadlines for the application and dissemination of new equipment.

Studies of scientific and technical progress at industrial enterprises have shown that the share of essentially new and more advanced equipment installed shows considerable annual fluctuations even within a single plant (from 60 to 90 percent). Nevertheless, it always turns out to be higher in the case of technical retooling and reconstruction of enterprises compared with the implementation of so-called new equipment measures. The share of basically new equipment remains rather low over substantial periods of time.

In order to enhance the effectiveness of scientific and technical progress and of overall public production, accountability, planning and encouraging the actual results of the installation of new equipment are of exceptional importance.

The basic indicators of the effectiveness of capital investments and of the currently planned measures related to new equipment and of inventions and rationalizations for which bonuses are paid are the annual economic results or savings based on the sum total of reduced outlays for old and new equipment. As we know, in computing this indicator, capital investments which are one-time outlays are reduced to current outlays with the help of the normative efficiency coefficient, i.e., to production costs.

This indicator is extensively and quite successfully used in selecting the best capital investment variant. However, in our view, this indicator is not

entirely suitable in assessing the economic efficiency of installed new equipment. The installation of new equipment involves huge outlays which must be covered by actual profits based on its use. In many cases the annual economic results of measures related to new equipment, currently assessed on the basis of the reduced outlays formula, is not paralleled by actual increases in the amount of profits earned by enterprises and sectors.

The annual increase in the amount of actual profits in many industrial sectors appears substantially more modest than the conventional annual economic results of the development of science and technology and rationalizations and inventions as computed according to the formula of reduced outlays. This is noted at both industrial enterprises and production associations in which rather high annual economic results of the application of measures related to new equipment and the use of inventions and rationalization suggestions an insignificant increase or even a lowering of actual profits during the year under consideration may be noted. For example, at the Gorlovka Machine-Building Plant imeni S. M. Kirov, compared with 1979 1980 profits increased by 1,320,000 rubles, totaling 6,202,000 rubles. At the same time, the annual economic results of the application of measures related to new equipment totaled 5,970,500 rubles, while savings from rationalizations and inventions equaled 1,369,000 rubles.

The use of the incentive system based on conventional annual economic results of the application of the achievements of science and technology is dangerous, for it creates the appearance of prosperity where no such prosperity exists and where energetic efforts to upgrade the efficiency of outlays for science and technology are needed.

The issuing of reference data and reports by plants and departments on the utilization of developments of scientific establishments and organizations, which quite carelessly name figures in the millions of conventional economic results in the absence of actual results, need to be controlled particularly strictly. In order not to create the illusion of prosperity where no prosperity exists, information on the results of the application of scientific developments should be issued by plants and associations only when the actual profit totals for the industrial enterprise or association, based on the installation of new equipment, has increased.

The entire process of application of new equipment can be clearly divided into two separate stages. The first is related to designing, building and installing the equipment. The second begins after the commissioning of the new machine units, sectors and shops. At this stage the use of the new equipment is similar to that of the older. The only difference is that normed development periods exist for the new equipment, i.e., that the planned technical and economic parameters must be reached gradually.

Whereas in the first stage the use of the specific indicators and methods in planning and assessing the efficiency of the new equipment on the basis of reduced outlays is legitimate, during the second stage it becomes necessary to determine its real, its actual efficiency. This means that after the installation of new equipment, once it has become an active productive

capital, in order to assess its efficiency it would be expedient to apply the same indicators used in determining the actual results of industrial output, i.e., the volume of output, profits, profitability, labor productivity, outlays per ruble marketable goods, etc.

Experimental computations in plants have indicated that the consideration of all such actual indicators (volume of output, total profits, etc.) for new production facilities (after reconstruction, expansion and technical retooling) creates no difficulty. Shop reports contain all the necessary data to this effect. Difficulties may arise only in determining the actual results of the application of minor measures related to new equipment, rationalization suggestions and projects submitted by scientific research institutes. However, such difficulties as well can be surmounted. A special card may be started for each technical innovation, recording reduced production costs, increased volumes of output and other indicators for the shop or the plant as a whole, determined through computations. The overall results of all measures could be determined by comparing it with the overall increase in profits, reduced production costs and increased volume of output for the shop and the entire plant.

Such computations are already frequently being made in enterprises in a number of industrial sectors, including the metallurgical, chemical and cellulose-paper industries. For example, starting with 1975, the planning-economic department at the Donetsk Metallurgical Plant imeni V. I. Lenin, has included in its report the annual economic results obtained in the shops as a result of measures related to new equipment during the year under consideration and in the annual plans for lowering shop production costs. Consequently, the shops have begun to take into consideration and award bonuses only for actual economic results expressed in reduced production outlays in the shops and the plant at large.

Along with determining the actual efficiency of the new equipment, it is equally important systematically to assess the quantitative influence of scientific and technical progress on the economy of the enterprise or the association (in enterprise plans and reports). The solution of this problem presumes above all the formulation of ways and means for such an assessment and their utilization in economic practice. These methods, as the previously formulated suggestions on improving planning and assessing the efficiency of the installation of new equipment were discussed at a conference held by the department on improving planning and economic incentive of the USSR Gosplan with the participation of specialists from the State Committee for Science and Technology and the USSR Central Statistical Administration. The recommendation was made to submit these suggestions to the interdepartmental commission on problems of the application of new methods of planning and economic incentive of the USSR Gosplan, with a view to subsequent experimental investigation at industrial enterprises.

It turned out that it was possible to express the quantitative correlation between activity indicators of enterprises and associations and scientific and technical progress with the help of specific statistical correlation forms for which proper methods and computation formulas were developed.

The computations carried out in 30 enterprises of 6 industrial sectors, covering a period ranging from 5 to 15 years, indicated that the traditional measures related to new equipment, included in plans and reports on technical development, as a rule have no substantial influence on the growth rates of production efficiency. New production facilities installed after reconstruction, expansion and technical retooling, while increasing the volume of output of the enterprise frequently have an adverse influence on the enterprise's economy during the initial years, lowering profits, profitability and labor productivity. This is frequently the result of the incomplete installation of new production facilities. Projects are commissioned with an incomplete technological cycle, without auxiliary shops, with a large number of unfinished parts, without raw materials and skilled cadres and, sometimes, even without customers.

That is why it is exceptionally important, along with organizing the efficient control over the actual effectiveness of all installed equipment, to set up substantiated deadlines, which must be strictly observed, for reaching the planned capacity of all commissioned projects. They must be established in the same manner that we establish today deadlines for the commissioning of projects. The commissioning of incomplete projects is largely related today to the confidence of the operational workers to the effect that the uneconomical work of the new production facilities will influence neither the implementation of the plan by the enterprise nor the amount of the bonus awarded to its collective. The point is that economic indicators for new production facilities are frequently planned on the basis of high actual outlays related to the unfinished completion of commissioned projects. As a result, the time for reaching planned economic indicators is extended over many years and losses become substantial. For example, during the first 3 years after the "3,600" mill was commissioned at the Azovstal' Plant, caused a loss of 58 million rubles in 1973. The desire to commission the project more quickly is, naturally, praiseworthy. However, it should be focused on the timely and complete reaching of planned indicators and the efficient utilization of new production facilities.

The country is wasting huge amounts of money on scientific research, designing and engineering, the construction of new and the expansion, reconstruction and technical retooling of existing enterprises and shops, the implementation of measures related to new equipment, the utilization of inventions and the stimulation of rationalization work. Not the presumed (conventional) but the real actual returns (efficiency) of outlays is by far not a matter of indifference to our society.

Life itself supports suggested changes in the system for planning scientific and technical progress. This is not a matter of the number of measures or "paper" results. What is important is to direct all departments and organizations, all enterprise collectives and individual workers toward the extensive application of truly new and efficient equipment which will make it possible to increase the volume of output needed by the people and will drastically increase actual returns per ruble of outlays.

"We must eliminate anything which makes the process of application of the new difficult, slow and painful," Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev emphasized at the 26th CPSU Congress. "Industry must be vitally interested in mastering more quickly and better the results of the thinking and the efforts of scientists and designers. Naturally, the solution of this problem is not simple. It requires the elimination of obsolete habits and indicators. However, it is entirely necessary for the country, the people and our future."

The planning and evaluation of the real instead of the conventional efficiency of all installed equipment, the determination of the extent of its novelty and the systematic quantitative assessment of its influence on production economics will enable us to turn the program for scientific and technical progress into an organic component of the work plants of enterprises, associations and industrial sectors. Under such circumstances it will become possible drastically to reduce the volume of futile developments and sterile "discoveries" and thus significantly to improve the efficiency of outlays for science and technology.

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ON THE WAY TO DISCOVERIES

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[Letter to the editor by Candidate of Juridical Sciences Yu. Yefimov]

[Text] The key problem of scientific and technical progress today is the fast and efficient utilization of the achievements of science, technology, discoveries and inventions in the national economy and the other areas of life. In the developed socialist society the steady growth and utilization of scientific achievements takes place on a planned basis, on the scale of the entire national economy and on the basis of a unified scientific and technical policy.

In implementing the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress the leading scientific research, design-engineering and technological institutions in the country are engaged in the correlated planning of all projects from the birth of an idea to its practical implementation. They are substantially reducing the time needed for the practical utilization of the results of scientific research.

Thus, the "Phenomenon of Thixotropic Reduction of Internal Stresses in Polymer Systems," discovered by P. I. Zubov, L. A. Sukhareva and N. I. Seroy, is not only of great importance in basic research in the physics-chemistry and technology of polymers. It found an extensive practical application in the development of new polymer materials and a variety of items. The high efficiency of the inventions based on this discovery (more than 20) is confirmed by the fact that savings from the use of a single development equal 1.3 million rubles per year.

Here is another example: the authors of a discovery--a group of Moscow scientists--substantiated theoretically and experimentally the possibility of a most efficient intensification of heat exchange. This makes it possible to produce heat exchange apparatus of far smaller dimensions and weight and thus to reduce outlays of metals such as copper, brass, tin, zinc, German silver and silver.

A number of valuable inventions have been based on this discovery. So far the scientists have been granted 14 authorship certificates and 5 patents for new designs of heat exchange surfaces and agents. Some of them have already been applied in the national economy with savings in excess of 1 million rubles.

State registration of scientific discoveries was established a quarter of a century ago in our country. The USSR is the first country which organized the legislative protection of fundamental discoveries. The special legal protection of these achievements confirms the tremendous concern shown by the party and the government for the comprehensive development of Soviet science and for increasing the interests of scientists and specialists in the results of superior "scientific standards."

During that time the USSR State Committee for Inventions and Discoveries has considered a number of applications and registered more than 250 discoveries with the help of the scientific public. Many of them have been authored by noted Soviet scientists such as Academicians L. A. Artsimovich, P. L. Kapitsa, G. N. Flerov and others.

Following the example of the USSR other socialist countries, such as Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Mongolia, have also applied a system for the protection of scientific discoveries.

The current system includes the solution of the entire set of problems. This means the need to determine the reliability of the scientific concepts submitted as a discovery through state scientific expert evaluation; the determination of the authorship and, therefore, governmental priority of a discovery; the moral and material incentives awarded to authors of discoveries and the help they receive in resolving scientific problems; finally, state record-keeping and information regarding discoveries for the sake of their comprehensive use in the national economy and subsequent scientific activities.

Naturally, the proper solution of all such problems is not the concern of the authors but an important governmental measure, for this intellectual capital, which is taken into consideration by the State Committee for Inventions and Discoveries and is protected by the law as state property is high.

In the final account, all discoveries are expressed in concepts which reflect the meaning of an established phenomenon or the characteristics or laws of the material world. K. Marx himself pointed out that the natural scientist "does not make the laws. He does not invent but merely formulates them ..." (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 1, p 162).

Based on the specific nature of discoveries which are resolved scientific-cognitive rather than applied problems, allows the possibility of their initial publication in the scientific press or in any other manner based on the submission of requests in accordance with established procedure.

The free publication of research results has objective prerequisites, for science requires global cooperation. For example, in the case of areas of knowledge such as geology and astronomy, the entire infinity of space, the universe, is the object of research.

However, we must not ignore the following important circumstance: under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution the time for the

practical utilization of discoveries in the national economy and other areas of life has been reduced drastically. Today there are frequent cases in which discoveries are given a green light and are subject to practical application literally on the day of their birth. Furthermore, as the practice of the state registration of discoveries confirms, priority for some discoveries are established by the State Committee for Inventions according to the date of the initial declaration of the invention based on such achievements.

On the one hand, these circumstances give an impetus to the development of invention activities in specific directions and, therefore, the submission of corresponding requests for inventions; on the other, they make it incumbent upon scientists and specialists to display greater caution in resolving the problem of the expediency of publishing applied discoveries in the scientific press or through other means prior to filing proper claims.

Let us note that this rule is not only the moral but the legal obligation of authors of presumed discoveries.

However, we should not overestimate the importance of scientific-literary works in the dissemination of discoveries. Even less justified in terms of violating the existing order of submitting claims and granting discovery rights is the premature dissemination of information on such achievements, particularly when they are of an applied nature.

Such was the case, for example, with the law on synthesizing diamonds from carbon, discovered by O. I. Leypunskiy. This Soviet discovery became the base of contemporary methods for the production of artificial diamonds on an industrial basis. Nevertheless, as a result of the premature publication of information on this achievement in the press it is being used free of charge in the United States, Sweden and other countries.

Here is another example: in the past, using our printed publications on the nature of the phenomenon of electron paramagnetic resonance, discovered by Ye. K. Zavoytskiy, foreign companies developed proper instruments on its basis. Naturally, U.S. and Japanese companies were not late in patenting them in their own name. To this day these instruments are being marketed in different countries, including the USSR, on a licensing basis.

It is regrettable, but these and other similar facts of the carelessness of some scientists and specialists and their low patenting-legal knowledge lead to the fact that important domestic scientific discoveries eventually appear in our country as imports. This leads to another conclusion: under present-day circumstances the winner is not the one who is the first to discover something but the first to apply it.

The inadmissibility of this practice was quite justifiably discussed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in the CPSU Central Committee accountability report to the 26th party congress: "We must determine the reasons for which we sometimes lose our priority and waste substantial funds to purchase abroad the type of equipment and technology which we could quite well produce ourselves and frequently on a higher-quality level."

While discussing the question of the correlation between discoveries and scientific publications, we must not ignore still existing cases in which our printed organs propagandize "discoveries" made by foreign scientists although such achievements were initially accomplished in our own country. Such was the case, for example, with the 105th element of Mendeleyev's periodical table of elements. The journal TEKNIKA-MOLODEZHI published data reporting that scientists at the Lawrence Radiation Laboratory (United States) had discovered this element and had named it after the German physicist Otto Hann--hannium. This information was inaccurate and confused the readers.

As pointed out by Academician G. N. Flerov, initially the discovery of the 105th element took place in the laboratory of the Joint Institute for Nuclear Research. In accordance with stipulated procedures, the institute reported the fact to the International Union of Pure and Applied Chemistry. At the same time, the Soviet scientists suggested that this element be named after the outstanding physicist Niels Bohr--nielsbohrium.

As we know, inventions like scientific problems are knowledge of the unknown. In other words, such problems include the knowledge of an objective rather than the means to achieve it. The value of a discovery lies above all in the fact that it greatly facilitates the solution of invention or other technical and applied problems, for it includes the means to accomplish them. This is very important, if we remember that not so long ago inventions and other technical innovations were developed mainly on the basis of practical experience and practical knowledge on the part of the producers themselves and the technical progress was primarily an impetus for new scientific discoveries rather than the result of the conscious application of science in production. Under the conditions of the current scientific and technical revolution, technology and production are inseparably interrelated within a single system of social production forces, in which scientific achievements and discoveries play the most important role. The task of the practical utilization of discoveries in the country has become considerably broader. This is caused above all by the fact that the time for the practical utilization of scientific achievements in the national economy has been reduced sharply. Thus, if we compare the time interval between a discovery and its utilization, on the one hand, and the validity of an authorship certificate (patent) on the other, we can determine the increased technological value of discoveries. It is not astounding, therefore, that today with increasing frequency discoveries are becoming the base not only of long-term but of current planning.

Let us point out, however, that for a variety of reasons a number of discoveries made by our science are in general either not declared or else are registered with great delays. Such was the case of the Belorussian scientist F. I. Fedorov, who discovered a previously unknown phenomenon of side changes in the light ray in reflection. The discovery was registered by the State Committee for Inventions, on the basis of the author's request, as late as June 1980, although it was made in 1954.

The objection may be voiced that until 1956 there was no legal protection of discoveries in our country. Yes, this is true. But was it necessary to wait

such a long time after a state protection system was instituted before this discovery was registered? Sometimes discovery diplomas are presented to noted scientists for discoveries which were made by them in the full bloom of their youth.

According to the existing procedure, such protection applies not to ordinary, average or even major results of research but to basic discoveries which introduce radical changes in the level of knowledge. But what are the criteria of such fundamentality? In practical terms, they are estimated "with the naked eye," which frequently leads to all sorts of discussions and misunderstandings. We believe that together with the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology and the USSR State Committee for Inventions and Discoveries, the USSR Academy of Sciences should speed up the formulation of such criteria and codify them. At that point it will become easier to separate the wheat from the chaff and will relieve expert scientists and specialists in the State Committee for Inventions of unnecessary waste of time and effort and, finally, will provide guidelines for scientific discoverers.

The situation in the scientific world is such that a new word in science must be not only voiced but heard. Alas, the history of science is familiar with many cases in which scientific achievements and discoveries were either not "heard" at all or, for a variety of reasons, turned out to be hopelessly ignored.

Today's procedure for the legal protection and "crediting" of scientific discoveries is aimed at eliminating this shortcoming. The State Committee for Inventions promptly informs the competent organizations throughout the country of such discoveries. The purpose of this information is, with the help of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the academies of sciences of union republics, the sectorial academies, ministries and departments, to give a "green light" to scientific achievements and to apply them within the shortest possible time. To register a discovery means to concentrate on it the attention of the scientific and technical public and to inform of it interested ministries, departments, institutions and organizations. In a word, the purpose is to create conditions for the fastest and most extensive use of a new achievement in practical and scientific work. Nevertheless, in our view, the solution of this important problem leaves something better to be desired. What are the reasons for this? Naturally, they are numerous.

The main difficulty in applying scientific achievements and discoveries, it seems to us, is the isolation of existing organizational methods of management of scientific, design-engineering and design-technological institutions and experimental production facilities from the organizational forms of management of associations and enterprises. Another difficulty in this area is the excessively slow use of essentially new organizational-legal methods for the utilization of the latest discoveries and inventions, although the application of such innovations frequently requires qualitatively different solutions.

For example, we know that the main criterion of practical application is the assessment of the results of applied research. As to basic works, here rigid planning is senseless, for usually a scientific discovery appears unexpectedly, as a quality leap which arises as a result of a lengthy accumulation of knowledge. Furthermore, it frequently happens that from the time of a factual discovery to its official recognition a more or less long period of time is necessary. Within that time the topic is frequently considered "closed." Therefore, no funds or proper equipment are allocated for it, and so on. Such gaps must be eliminated. The plans for the utilization of scientific discoveries must be backed by the necessary material and financial resources.

Consequently, the unity of the "science-technology-production-finished product" complex can be ensured above all through the unified planned management of its functioning, the purpose of which is to create the necessary organizational and economic "coupling" of the individual interrelated links within the process of development, mastery and application of scientific and technical achievements. The party-government decree on improving the economic mechanism and related legal documents direct scientists and specialists along precisely that way. Unfortunately, the practical utilization of discoveries is frequently unjustifiably delayed as a result of the absence of an efficient economic-legal mechanism for settling problems arising in this area. Here is an example:

An essentially new design for a precombustion chamber of an automotive engine was developed on the basis of the discovery by L. A. Gussak "A Phenomenon of High Chemical Activeness of Products of Incomplete Combustion of a Rich Hydrocarbon Mixture." This innovation made possible to replace traditional precombustion firing with a jet firing, which allowed a considerable reduction in the volume of released gases. However, by the fault of the Ministry of Automotive Industry and the planning organs, the widespread application of a "clean engine" was delayed for several years. It was subsequently determined that the entire "complexity" in resolving this problem was the need for a slight widening of the production area at the Moscow Carburetors Plant although, according to the specialists, the cost of this expansion could have been recovered in 18 months to 2 years.

One of the reasons for this is the lack of regulations concerning ministries and departments regarding their obligation to select and ensure the utilization of corresponding discoveries. Furthermore, the current regulation on the socialist state production enterprise proceeds from the fact that "the enterprise ... has the right to conclude with scientific research, design and engineering organizations and higher educational institutions contracts for the development of new equipment and production technologies...."

However, the fact that the enterprise must always improve its production technology on the basis of the latest scientific achievements is not mentioned in this document. Here again, in our view, we need not moral appeals but practical legal, i.e., mandatory stipulations to regulate relations among the basic links of the chain which binds production with technology and technology with science.

Until recently, in the light of the stipulations of existing legislation, the utilization of scientific discoveries was essentially limited to the possibility of using them in the various economic sectors. However, Article 26 of the USSR Constitution provides a broader interpretation to the concept of the application of results of scientific research (naturally, including discoveries) not only in the national economy but "in other areas of life." This circumstance directs us to the need to adopt a broader approach to the clarification of the various methods for the application of discoveries protected by the law and to define the very concept of "utilization of discoveries" and the related concept of "discovery of applied significance," which are now subject to different interpretations.

The following circumstance must also be taken into consideration: as we know, discoveries, unlike inventions, resolve not technical or applied but scientific-cognitive problems. This means that a discovery in itself can not be applied (utilized). This can be accomplished only with the help of "intermediary objects"--with the help of inventions or other technical innovations based on them. In other words, based on the concept of the link between theory and practice, it is important to bear in mind that a discovery, like any scientific idea, can be "applied" and used only with the help of materialized facilities (instruments, equipment) or methods (ways and means). Such ways and means can include not only developments which are considered inventions but other achievements which are usually classified as new equipment. It is equally not excluded that a discovery may be made with the help of ways and means which are neither inventions nor new technology. In this connection we should consider as inaccurate the view expressed in some publications according to which a discovery can be used only through inventions. Finally, we must not ignore the fact that some research and development projects can not be considered inventions as a matter of principle.

On this basis, it would be accurate to say that the "bridge" linking a scientific discovery or a theory and practice is the invention or any other scientific and technical creativity which, in turn, is the binding link between science and production. It is not astounding, therefore, that a number of laws stipulate the use not of discoveries as such but of "results of discoveries" based on them, i.e., the results of scientific and technical developments based on such discoveries.

This is of interest in the following sense as well:

The current State Standard 1.0-68 "Governmental Standardization System. Basic Stipulations" proceeds from the fact that the standards must stipulate new and more progressive norms and requirements (established on the basis of the mandatory use of practically tested domestic and foreign discoveries and inventions...." This will make it possible to "circulate" discoveries in the best possible way and to raise their utilization to the status of a law.

Speaking of the means for accelerating the use of discoveries, the following circumstance should be taken into consideration: today, in addition to achievements subject to legal safeguards, frequently varieties of such achievements, such as the results of scientific research, are classified as

discoveries. These are discoveries which, based on their specific nature, are not as yet "ripe enough" to be included in the realm of legal protection, as well as discoveries which, by virtue of existing traditions in the scientific world, are not classified as such.

In any of these cases, as we already pointed out, a discovery is a qualitatively new result of scientific research, which brings about radical and essentially important changes in the level of knowledge. Naturally, the fact that second and third-group discoveries are not subject to official recognition on the part of the competent authority--the State Committee for Inventions and Discoveries--does not hinder their subsequent utilization in practical and scientific work. This conclusion is consistent with Marx's idea to the effect that "every discovery becomes the basis for a new invention or for new advanced production methods.... Science is acknowledged as becoming a means of production of wealth, a means of enrichment" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 47, pp 553-554). Here the term "every discovery" presumes the inequality among such achievements.

One of the tasks in scientific forecasting and long-term planning today is to determine the proper ratio between basic and applied research and development and to predetermine the continuity of the scientific research cycle. Hence the need to ensure the continuity of scientific research until the practical application of its results. This becomes even more important if we consider that despite the unquestionable successes achieved in the application of scientific and technical achievements in the national economy, we have been unable as yet to develop the type of organizational and economic mechanism which would be fully adapted to the fastest possible progress of new scientific ideas along the entire chain from discoveries and inventions to extensive practical use.

We frequently hear that one cannot plan discoveries, as they are the result of research! Basically this is true. Indeed, as Academician M. V. Keldysh has pointed out, it is impossible to predict specific discoveries, as they are the result of extensive work along promising directions. Therefore, it would be unwise to draw up a "calendar plan" for specific discoveries. Nevertheless, it is impossible to create on the off chance something original and useful in the field of science. The high scientific and technical level of research based on the creative and systematic study of the latest domestic and foreign information is the main prerequisite for making discoveries or achieving other substantial accomplishments. As we pointed out this is exemplified by the Joint Institute for Nuclear Research, which has to its credit 28 officially recognized discoveries and more than 700 inventions, not counting other scientific and technical achievements.

The study of the utilization of scientific achievements makes it possible to single out the following "model" for application, which includes the following stages: assessing application possibilities; selecting the optimal variant; formulating a plan-program for application, development of proper methods and creation of the necessary technical and cadre facilities; sample modeling; testing the sample method or model; and, finally, making improvements, if possible.

We must point out that the currently applied practice of application of scientific achievements and discoveries in many ministries and departments can not be efficient without a properly developed system for economic incentive of enterprises and organizations, on the one hand, and bonuses to individuals who have displayed initiative in the application of such achievements, on the other. In the course of time this circumstance has been reflected in the regulations issued by many ministries and departments.

However, the departmental approach to the formulation of such regulations inevitably involves subjectivism in resolving important problems of obtaining and utilizing scientific and technical achievements and is fraught with unjustified disparities in resolving such problems.

In our view, the time has come for the competent authorities--the USSR State Committee for Labor, the State Committee for Science and Technology, the State Committee for Inventions, the USSR Ministry of Finance and the AUCCTU to draft a uniform standardized rule such as, for example, a regulation on the application of the achievements of science and technology and scientific discoveries above all. The increased importance of such a regulation is based today on Article 26 of the USSR Constitution and Item 52 of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree dated 12 July 1979, which calls for increasing by one-half the amount of supplements to the wholesale price for new highly effective goods, providing that their production is based on developments, acknowledged discoveries or inventions. This type of approach will make it possible for science to perform most adequately its function of "disturber of tranquility" mentioned at the 26th CPSU Congress.

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REQUIREMENTS OF ROAD WORKERS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 82 pp 67-69

[Letter to the editor by R. Popov]

[Text] Beginning with 1940 and during the Great Patriotic War, as USSR deputy people's commissar of communications, I was in charge of problems related to industry, transportation and material and technical supplies. I cannot forget the incredibly difficult circumstances under which roads had to be built at that time--the laying of railroad tracks and building motor vehicle roads, and the laying of tracks through impassable forests, swamps and endless plains. All handy construction materials were used to lay roads. Everything served. New main roads were built in numbered days, along which troops and military ordnance traveled in a westerly direction.

Today times have changed. Road-building possibilities are incomparably better and greater material and technical facilities exist. The decisions of the May 1982 CPSU Central Committee plenum stipulate that during the decade approximately 130,000 kilometers of motor vehicle roads for public use and 150,000 kilometers of intrafarm roads will be built during the decade alone. The scale is impressive. The successful implementation of such tasks calls for the use of all available reserves. However, many reserves remain which are not always used to the proper extent.

The building of paved roads and the reconstruction and capital repairs of existing ones require not only substantial capital investments and manpower but large quantities of road-building materials and high-quality tar lining, manufactured in the course of petroleum refining, and which can be obtained in the local areas only as the result of building petroleum refineries. However, another possibility exists of obtaining relatively inexpensive tar lining--the use of so-called "waste" discarded by operating petroleum refineries. Noteworthy in this respect is the extensive use of a development by the scientists of the Yaroslavl Polytechnical Institute, under the guidance of Professor A. Frolov, doctor of technical sciences. The institute's scientists have responded to the suggestion of the road builders to make possible the use of acid tar and, with the most energetic support of the CPSU obkom and oblast executive committee, developed a method for manufacturing road asphalt. This asphalt was used in paving the Yaroslavl-Rybinsk Highway.

The conclusion of the interdepartmental commission consisting of representatives of the Bashkir Petroleum Industry Institute, road builders and petroleum refiners, was the following: the bitumen obtained from waste, combined with asphalts entirely meets the stipulations of the state standard. By combining this bitumen with the same quantity of asphalt, the road builders obtain 10,000 tons of high-grade asphalt. The first industrial system for the manufacturing of asphalts from acid tar, with a 5,000-ton capacity, is in operation in Yaroslavl Oblast. With a view to ensuring the fuller utilization of the plant's waste a second system of equal capacity is under construction. The road builders of the Russian Kolkhoz Construction Association are planning the construction of yet another even more powerful such system.

Here are a few figures. An average of 150 tons of asphalt are required per kilometer of road. The Yaroslavl petroleum refinery imeni Mendeleyev alone discards 25,000 tons of acid tar per year. Here about 700,000 tons of tar have accumulated, the processing of which, not counting what is being discarded every year, would enable us to obtain good quality bitumen sufficient to asphalt 10,000 kilometers of highways.

Let us add to this that every year the plant produces 30,000 tons of asphalt which, however, is used for fuel. The situation has now changed: yesterday's waste has become a valuable raw material for road construction and must be used for this purpose. The existing asphalt plants are still being used at less than 50 percent capacity because of the insufficient quantity of petroleum bitumens set aside for road construction. This very year we must be concerned with drastically increasing the manufacturing of high-quality road bitumens and asphalts by opening shops at the existing petroleum refineries throughout the country.

The second most important problem facing the road builders is that of paving the roads in the Nonchernozem Zone. There is a shortage of good-quality quarry materials in the areas in which highways are being built. However, reserves exist--unused metal slag. With reinforced binding qualities, they can be used for the monolithic paving of the roadway. The removal of metallurgical slag from dumps is far more convenient than the opening of new stone quarries and is less expensive by a factor of 4-5. However, it is as though the road builders are unaware of such obvious advantages. They persist in opening new quarries virtually side by side of slag dumps.

About 10 million tons of blast furnace slag is dumped every year. By decision of the Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy, 20 shops and enterprises have converted to wasteless technology. The construction of "slag yards" is developed in the Ukraine and the Urals.

The possibility of using metallurgical slag in paving roadbeds is particularly important in the Nonchernozem Zone. For some reason, however, existing experience remains unused and "slag yards" have not been built at the Cherepovets and Lipetsk metallurgical plants. Available materials in the Nonchernozem Zone are of low grade, the gravel is soft and the sand is exceptionally fine. Unfortunately, the road-building organizations

frequently use such materials untreated, as a result of which the roads are unreliable. They require frequent repairs which means additional expenditures.

The Union Road Construction Scientific Research Institute has developed a technology for the production of "keramdor"--ceramic gravel and crushed rock. It is produced by firing clay. It is distinguished by its great firmness and is water- and frost-resistant.

The strength of the road structures themselves can be achieved both by using new technological methods for the manufacturing and application of mixtures prepared out of local materials and the use of special binding substances and various additives. In particular, the personnel of the Gorkiy branch of GiprodorNII have developed an ash-binding substance made of waste dumped by the local thermoelectric power plant. A method for accelerating the cementing process with the help of small additions of waste of a number of chemicals, which are currently dumped, has also proved effective.

Finally, another still incompletely resolved problem is that of road-building equipment. The successful implementation of the increased volume of five-year plan assignments, which call for the accelerated development of basic automotive highways and the expanded construction of motor vehicle roads in rural areas, calls for increasing the production of modern road-building machinery with high productivity, and easy to operate and to service.

A fully mechanized set of machinery for high-quality highway construction, consisting of 10 machines on wheels and tracks, was displayed at the "Stroydormash-81" international exhibition. Lined up one after the other, in one shift, these machines can lay 1-1.5 kilometers of roadway. Compared with previously used track machines, their productivity is higher by a factor of 10. Such machine sets, the stability of which has been confirmed and which could be promptly supplied by industry in sufficient amounts, would sharply speed up the construction and reconstruction of highways. This is particularly important in the case of the long roads which must be built in Siberia and the Far East.

There is a shortage of low-power road-building machinery for the countryside, particularly under the conditions of the Nonchernozem Zone in which, in addition to roads linking the central farmsteads of kolkhozes and sovkhoses to the rayon centers, a large number of rural roads and approaches to cattleyards, livestock farms and other kolkhoz production services must be built. However, the Ministry of Construction, Road and Municipal Machine Building is paying insufficient attention to designing and producing such equipment.

The closing down of the Galich excavators plant in Kostroma Oblast, is an example of insufficient attention paid to the development of road-building equipment. The plant was transferred under the jurisdiction of the Kiev Krasnyy Ekskavator Production Association with a view to increasing the production of excavators. To this purpose a big building was constructed for the machine shop which was to produce the necessary parts in accordance with

the plant's expansion. Suddenly, the decision was made to adapt part of the building of the machine shop for a high-capacity galvanizing shop for chromium lining of almost half a million hydraulic cylinders which were needed by the Kiev Production Association, and to terminate the production of excavators. The plant's reconstruction was initiated according to a design not cleared with the State Sanitation Supervision Organs and with most blatant violations of norms and regulations. A paradoxical situation developed: the cylinders had to be shipped from Kiev to Galich merely for chromium lining and then shipped back to Kiev, thus unjustifiably burdening the railroad and polluting with the waste of the galvanizing shop the Galich Lake, which is one of the country's national resources and is under the strict protection of the state.

One is amazed by reading that the Galich plant, which had earned an excellent reputation in manufacturing excavators needed by the Nonchernozem, was not used in accordance with its original purpose. It would be expedient for this plant to produce not only excavators but other road-building machinery extremely needed in expanding the highway network.

The equipment used in road construction is put to heavy use on the hard and rocky soils of the Nonchernozem. In this connection, in designing such equipment it would be important to have precise data on the solidity of the metal used. Existing standards allow the use of a rather wide range of steel brands. A further breakdown of the existing brands into several classes would help us to improve the efficiency with which the rolled metal is used.

Unfortunately, our road-building machinery is metal-consuming and, frequently, unnecessarily cumbersome. The production of stronger steels will reduce the weight of many types of machinery and such savings will help us to manufacture machines and mechanisms which are extremely necessary in road construction and the communal economy.

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V.I. LENIN AND THE POLISH WORKER'S MOVEMENT

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 82 pp 70-80

[Text] September 1982 sees the centennial of the emergence of the "Proletariat" party--Polish workers' first class organization guided by the basic principles of scientific socialism. Its activity developed chiefly in the Polish lands that then formed part of the Russian Empire. It was an internationalist party that cooperated closely with Russian revolutionary organizations. The "Proletariat" existed for only 4 years, but later generations of Poland's proletarian revolutionaries continued the cause of the struggle for the social and national liberation of the Polish people and carried it through to victory.

In all probability V.I. Lenin learned of the "Proletariat" party while he was still at secondary school. In its issue for 29 January (10 February) 1886 the newspaper SIMBIRSKIYE GUBERNSKIYE VEDOMOSTI devoted its first two pages to the verdict on the "Proletariat" case, reprinted from the capital's PRAVITELSTVENNY VESTNIK. About a year later the family learned of the verdict on the case of Aleksandr Ulyanov, who had taken part in preparing an attempt on the life of Aleksandr III; there were also several Polish revolutionaries among his comrades who were placed on trial. Lenin heard a considerable amount about the Polish workers movement from the members of the "League of Struggle for the Liberation of the Working Class" he created in Petersburg, from the Marxist worker groups linked with it and also from the members of the "Emancipation of Labor" group and emigre Russian revolutionaries, who had close links with the Polish comrades.

The start of Lenin's direct contacts with members of the Polish workers movement can be dated pretty precisely. He was arrested for revolutionary activity in December 1897, and on the way to his place of settlement he spent several days with W. Buksznis, a member of the "Proletariat" party who was returning after serving his exile. A comrade in exile of Lenin's in Shushenskoye was J. Prominski, a Polish social democrat and worker from Lodz. Lenin met and talked with M. Blazejewski, a participant in the 1863 Polish rising and later a member of the "Proletariat".... Through friends in exile and people who shared his views Lenin knew of B. Wesolowski, T. Wlostowski, S. Kulik and other participants in the First Social Democracy of the Polish Kingdom (SKP) Congress, who were also in Siberian exile; news reached him of the exiles J. Strozecki (Struzhetskiy) and L. Janowicz, active figures in the Polish

Socialist Party who, in defiance of its leadership's line, backed a Russian-Polish revolutionary alliance.

Soon after finishing his exile, Lenin went abroad to organize the all-Russian workers' newspaper that was to be a decisive element in the building of the Bolshevik Party. In Munich he met with J. Marchlewski, one of the founders of the SKP, who helped him organize ISKRA. It was in Germany that Lenin first talked with R. Luxemburg, who was then a figure in social democracy of the Polish Kingdom and Lithuania.

The very first issue of ISKRA, which saw the light in late 1900, carried, among other articles and items, the appeal "To All workers and Working Women of Russia," which called for the defense of a group of Warsaw workers sentenced to death by a czarist military court. Thereafter Lenin's ISKRA systematically featured various items specially devoted to Poland and the Polish workers movement.

Complex processes were underway in the Polish workers movement at this time. The direct continuers of the "Proletariat" party's revolutionary internationalist line were the Polish Kingdom, created in 1893, which later became Social Democracy of the Polish Kingdom and Lithuania (SKPiL). The reformist, nationalist tradition was represented by the Polish Socialist Party (PPS), which was created that same year and, relegating the tasks of working people's social liberation to the background, proclaimed the struggle for Poland's independence as its main goal. The PPS leaders saw an independent Poland without the Polish lands belonging to Germany and Austro-Hungary, but wanted without fail to include Lithuanian, Belorussian and Ukrainian lands in it. The top leaders and ideologists of the PPS did their utmost to belittle the importance of the Russian proletariat's struggle and tried to prove that Polish workers could have no friends and allies in Russia. PPS propaganda inflamed nationalist prejudices with the aim of extending to the entire Russian people Poles' just hatred of czarism and its servants. However, it should be noted that there always existed within the PPS forces opposed to this policy on the parts of its leaders; the contradictions were so strong that splits resulted more than once.

Sharply criticizing the nationalist line of the PPS leadership, Lenin made a profound analysis of the class nature and prospects of the Polish national liberation movement: He rated highly the Polish people's struggle to regain Poland's independence, which had been lost in the late 18th century when the Polish lands were divided between Austria, Prussia and Russia. Lenin consistently upheld the viewpoint of K. Marx and F. Engels, who had emphasized the progressive significance of the Polish national liberation movements at its pre-proletarian stage, when members of the gentry had played the predominant role in it. "This viewpoint was perfectly correct and was the only consistently democratic and proletarian viewpoint for the era of the forties and sixties of the last century," Lenin wrote in 1914, "the era of the bourgeois revolution in Austria and Germany and the era of 'peasant reform' in Russia. While the people's masses of Russia and most of the Slavic countries were still sleeping the sleep of the dead and there were no independent, mass, democratic movements in these countries, the gentry's liberation movement in Poland assumed colossal,

paramount importance from the viewpoint of not just all-Russian or pan-Slavic but also all-European democracy." ("Complete Collected Works," vol 25, p 297)

However, the situation began to change radically as the center of the revolutionary movement shifted to Russia. Lenin stated: "The Poland of the gentry disappeared and gave way to capitalist Poland. Under these conditions Poland was bound to lose its exceptional revolutionary significance." Condemning those who ignored the changes that had taken place but at the same time tried to use as cover the remarks of the founders of scientific communism, Lenin declared that attempts to "enshrine" a viewpoint belonging to another era meant "using the letter of Marxism against the spirit of Marxism." (ibidem, p 298)

The Russian-Polish revolutionary alliance became vitally important to Polish working people and Poland's entire people under the new conditions. Lenin expressed his thoughts about the interconnection between the vital interests of the peoples of Russia and Poland in the exceptionally concise, clear-cut formula: "...freedom for Poland is impossible without freedom for Russia." ("Complete Collected Works," vol 17, p 269) Henceforth only a revolutionary struggle by the Russian and Polish working people could implement the Polish people's aspirations. It was the proletarian revolution that, by destroying national oppression, was able to create the best possible conditions for a truly democratic solution of the nationalities question.

The consistent democratism of the Bolshevik attitude was displayed in Lenin's defense of the right to self-determination for all the nations forming the Russian Empire. This also assumed the recognition of the demand that Poland's independence be restored.

Pointing to the futility of the PPS leaders' nationalism and the perniciousness of their attempts to subordinate the workers movement to bourgeois nationalism, Lenin wrote: "The way the PPS sees it is that the nationalities question is exhausted by the opposition; 'us' (the Poles) and 'them' (the Germans, the Russians and the rest). But the social democrat highlights the opposition: 'us,' the proletarians; and 'them,' the bourgeoisie. 'We,' the proletarians, have seen dozens of times how the bourgeoisie betrays the interests of freedom, motherland, language and nation when it is faced with a revolutionary proletariat." ("Complete Collected Works," vol 7, p 241) He went on to emphasize: "...we will always say to the Polish worker: Only the fullest and closest alliance with the Russian proletariat can satisfy the demands of this current political struggle against the autocracy and only such an alliance will provide a guarantee of complete political and economic liberation." (ibidem p 242)

The PPS' nationalist and reformist course and its struggle against the Russian-Polish revolutionary alliance were invariably opposed by the SKPIL, which educated Polish workers in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and defended the unity of the Polish and Russian revolutionary workers movement. Lenin drew attention to the SKPIL's revolutionariness, internationalism and creative approach toward questions of theory, strategy and tactics. The Polish social democrats, he wrote, were quite right "when they opposed the Polish petty bourgeoisie's nationalist enthusiasms, demonstrated the secondary significance

of the nationalities question so far as Polish workers were concerned, created the first purely proletarian party in Poland and proclaimed the extremely great importance of the principle of the closest alliance between Polish and Russian workers in their class struggle." ("Complete Collected Works," vol 25, p 298)

At the same time Polish social democracy did not pursue a sufficiently consistent line on all issues. Thus for a long time it disagreed with Lenin's statement of the nationalities question, which envisaged the right of nations to self-determination. The explanation of this was that, operating in an environment saturated with nationalism, the SKPIL, which was profoundly internationalist and patriotic in the best sense of the words, mistakenly saw the recognition of the right to self-determination as something like a concession to bourgeois nationalism undermining the international unity of the proletariat of all Russia. However, under the influence of Lenin's criticism and under the conditions of the prevailing revolutionary situation and the increasingly sharp manifestation of the Mensheviks' opportunism, Polish social democracy increasingly came to understand the Bolsheviks' stance. It showed solidarity with the decisions adapted at the Third RSDRP [Russian Social Democratic Workers Party] Congress regarding the preparation of an armed uprising against the autocracy.

In 1905-07, during the first bourgeois democratic revolution of the imperialist era, the Polish working class fought together with the working class of all Russia. Lenin was delighted at the exploits of "the heroic proletariat of heroic Poland." ("Complete Collected Works," vol 10, p 314) He regarded the struggle of the Lodz workers, who rose in an armed uprising in June 1905, as an example of the greatest heroism and selfless bravery. The Lodz proletariat, Lenin wrote, demonstrated "not only a new example of revolutionary enthusiasm and heroism but the highest forms of struggle." (ibidem pp 310-311)

A vivid demonstration of the strengthening alliance between the Russian and Polish proletariat was the political strike by Petersburg's workers in November 1905. In turn, during the December armed rising in Moscow, the Polish workers helped their Russian comrades with a broad strike movement.

At the Fourth (unification RSDRP Congress held in the spring of 1906, the SKPIL, which was represented by a delegation that included F. Dzerzhinskiy, joined the RSDRP with the rights of a territorial organization. Lenin welcomed this union and declared that it would provide "the best possible guarantee of continued successful struggle." ("Complete Collected Works," vol 12, p 393)

At the Fifth RSDRP Congress, held in the spring of 1907, the Polish social democrats supported Lenin's position on the questions of the hegemony of the proletariat in a bourgeois democratic revolution, the attitude toward the liberal bourgeoisie and the worker-peasant alliance and thereby contributed to the Bolsheviks' important ideological victory over their opponents within the Russian workers movement. In one of his speeches at the congress Lenin stressed that the Bolsheviks agreed with the Polish social democrats on the fundamental questions of revolution. The SKPIL ranked among these questions the struggle to eliminate czarism, to convene the Constituent Assembly, to

transform Russia into a democratic republic and to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, and also to grant autonomy to the Polish guberniyas [pre-revolutionary Russian administrative divisions].

The Russian-Polish revolutionary alliance strengthened and expanded during the 1905-1907 revolution. But a section of the Polish working people remained in positions a long way both from Russian-Polish revolutionary collaboration and from revolution in general. "The bourgeoisie, cleverly playing in Poland on the national oppression of all Poles and on the religious oppression of all Catholics," Lenin noted, "the bourgeoisie [repetition as published] is seeking and finding a certain support among the masses. And the Polish peasantry of course." ("Complete Collected Works," vol 14, pp 342-343)

The rightwing leadership of the PPS was a substantial impediment to the development of the Polish revolutionary movement. The rightwing PPS leaders deviated further and further into antirevolutionary nationalist positions.

"In its statement of immediate goals the PPS program is not revolutionary," Lenin stated back in 1905. "In its ultimate goals it is not socialist." ("Complete Collected Works," vol 11, p 289) In late 1906, under pressure from the proletarian section of the party, which desired active participation in the Polish and Russian proletariat's class battles, the nationalist elements were expelled from the PPS. Purged of the social-nationalists, the party began to be called the PPS-Lewica [Polish Socialist Party-Left]. Overcoming the vestiges of reformist and nationalist views, it moved closer to the revolutionary trend.

The group of figures headed by J. Pilsudski, expelled from the PPS, called itself the "Revolutionary Faction" but in reality traveled a path hostile to revolution. In time the organization moved the center of gravity of its activity to the Austrian part of Poland, where it began creating paramilitary formations and subversive groups to fight against Czarist Russia on the side of its external imperialist enemies. The "Fraki," as the PPS-"Revolutionary Faction" came to be commonly called, slid into serving some imperialists against others. They, Lenin wrote A.M. Gorkiy, "are certainly for Austria and will fight for it." ("Complete Collected Works," vol 48, p 155)

Back during the first Russian revolution the entire international workers movement was faced with the question of the danger of world war. The great international significance of the Russian-Polish revolutionary alliance was revealed in the resolution of this question. It was precisely as a result of the joint efforts of the Bolsheviks and the Polish social democrats and of V.I. Lenin and R. Luxemburg personally that the Stuttgart congress of the Second International in August 1907 adopted a resolution pointing out that in the event of war the workers of all countries should seek to exploit the economic and political crisis caused by war in order to accelerate the fall of capital's rule.

Under conditions where reaction was on the offensive, Lenin, while struggling to preserve the party and to gather the strength for another assault on the autocracy, invariably continued to pay great attention to further developing the Russian-Polish revolutionary alliance.

In January 1908 he addressed a meeting of the Geneva group of Polish social democracy and then an international rally protesting the persecution of Poles in Prussia. At the request of the SKPIL leadership Lenin wrote a number of articles for Polish social democracy's theoretical journal. Only translations of Lenin's articles in Russian publications or reports and secondhand accounts of his work had previously appeared in the Polish press. In the articles published in the fraternal party organ Lenin took into account the Polish reader's special interests and needs. He pointed to the lessons the revolutionary proletariat had to learn from the experience of 1905-1907 and acquainted the Polish social democrats with some of the questions of revolutionary theory and strategy that he had elaborated, particularly the questions of the revolutionary bourgeoisie, the importance of resolving general democratic tasks so far as the approaching of socialist tasks is concerned, and the leading and directing role of the new type of revolutionary party.

During the years of reaction's offensive, wavering emerged in the SKPIL, especially in regard to the Bolsheviks' struggle against liquidationism and recallism [otzovism]. The lack of unanimity on this question and certain others led to a temporary split, and a section of the SKPIL did not support the decisions of the RSDRP's Prague conference in 1912.

However, the Bolsheviks were deeply convinced that the class alliance of Russian and Polish workers objectively retained its force despite Polish social democracy's errors. This fact influenced Lenin's decision to leave Paris and move closer to Russia--to Krakow. Lenin spent 1912-1914 in this Polish city, which was then a part of Austro-Hungary, constantly associated with many Polish social democratic figures, addressed the Polish audience and wrote articles for Polish revolutionary publications. Following talks with Lenin the Bolshevik paper PRAVDA provided the necessary assistance in publishing the Polish social democratic newspaper NOWA TRYBUNA as from April 1914 in Petersburg.

The Polish social democrats adopted an internationalist position when World War I broke out. They helped Lenin and the Bolsheviks rally the internationalist elements in the international workers movement. The PPS-Lewica also adopted an anti-imperialist internationalist position. At the 1915 Zimmerwald conference the SKPIL and the PPS-Lewica issued a joint internationalist declaration. When he saw the declaration, which also reflected their common stance on the nationalities question, Lenin noted: "These propositions essentially differ in no respect from recognition of the right of nations to self-determination..." ("Complete Collected Works," vol 27, p 265) During World War I the imperialists and social chauvinists on both warring sides sought to cover up the true aims of their policy with lying statements in which each of the warring sides contended that it was fighting for Poland's independence. As Lenin had foreseen the PPS-'Revolutionary Faction' openly supported German-Austrian imperialism. Lenin explained that in reality the cause of Poland's independence could be helped not by supporting one or other of the imperialist coalitions but only by working for a proletarian revolution opening the way for real self-determination by the peoples.

After the February bourgeois democratic revolution, in his speech on the nationalities question at the Seventh (April) All-Russian RSDRP (Bolsheviks)

Conference in 1917, Lenin stressed the tremendous historical service of the Polish social democrats, who had put forward the slogan of internationalism in Poland (see "Complete Collected Works," vol 31, p 433). The conference adopted a resolution proposed by Lenin which not only reaffirmed the consistent position of the Bolsheviks, who had always recognized that the Polish people, like other peoples, had the right to self-determination up to and including separation, but also pointed out that the true liberation of Poland was inextricably connected with the reunification of all the Polish lands, both those that had been under the authority of czarism and those that were under the authority of the Austrian and German invaders (see *ibidem*, p 374). The Bolsheviks proposed this new statement of the Polish question in combination with their general course of struggle for the development of the victorious bourgeois democratic revolution in Russia into a socialist revolution.

F. Dzerzinskiy, S. Budzynski, J. Leszczynski (Lenskiy), F. Grzelszczak, thousands of Polish social democrats who shared their views and other Polish internationalists who were in Russia were very active assistants of Lenin and the Bolshevik Party in preparing and carrying out the Great October Socialist Revolution and in the struggle for the victory and assertion of Soviet power in Russia.

During the Brest talks the Soviet Government did everything in its power for a just, democratic solution of the Polish question, a solution whereby the population of all the Polish lands would have been granted the opportunity to freely decide the question of their state affiliation. "We," Lenin said in his report at the First All-Russian Congress of Working Cossacks, "know that a very great crime was the fact that Poland was partitioned between German, Austrian and Russian capitals and that this partition condemned the Polish people to long years of oppression during which use of their native language was held to be a crime and when the entire Polish people was educated in just one thought--liberating themselves from that triple oppression" ("Complete Collected Works," vol 40, p 181).

The Soviet Government included the Polish social democrat S. Bobinski in its delegation at the Brest talks. Speaking on behalf of the Polish people, he demanded that the Polish people be granted the opportunity to freely organize their country's life. Thus the voice of Poland was heard at an interstate conference for the first time since the 18th century.

There were tens of thousands of Polish volunteers among the defenders of Soviet power from the invasion by the foreign interventionists and from internal counterrevolution. On 2 August 1918 Lenin addressed a meeting of the Warsaw Revolutionary Regiment, which consisted largely of Polish comrades and was setting off for the front. The newspaper account reported his speech as follows: "I think, Comrade Lenin said, that we, both the Polish and the Russian revolutionaries, are now burning with the same desire to do everything to defend the gains of the first mighty socialist revolution.... The great honor of defending the sacred ideas with weapon in hand has fallen to you..." ("Complete Collected Works," vol 37, pp 24-26).

The sparks of revolution ignited by October spread to other countries too. On 29 August 1918, when the possibility of a solution of the Polish question in the spirit of the Soviet Government's positions had begun to emerge in view of the approaching collapse of the kaiser's Germany, Lenin signed a decree denouncing all the treaties and acts relating to partition of Poland. This said that all these documents "are irrevocably abrogated by this present [decree] since they run counter to the principle of the self-determination of nations and to the revolutionary sense of justice of the Russian people, who have recognized that the Polish people possess an inalienable right to independence and unity" ("Decrees of Soviet Power," vol III, Moscow 1964, p 259). Thus the link that Lenin had long noted between the victory of revolution in Russia and Poland's freedom was implemented. By smashing the power of the landowners and capitalists and ushering in the building of a new, socialist Russia, Great October created the conditions for the restoration of Polish statehood and the reunification of Polish lands. Lenin's decree abrogating all the treaties and acts concluded in the past regarding partitions of Poland was the main basis in international law for the rebirth of Polish statehood.

The disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy soon began and in November 1918 Germany too was in the grip of revolution. When dictating armistice terms to Germany after its surrender the victorious powers prescribed that it should withdraw its troops to the line of the eastern border that had existed at the start of World War I--in other words, that it should retain the Polish lands that had belonged to it before the war and temporarily continue to occupy the Polish lands seized during the war. But the occupiers' position was so shaky that the German command hastened to transport J. Pilsudski from Germany to Warsaw and to hand over power to him.

The restoration of the Polish state was accompanied by impressive revolutionary demonstrations and by the appearance of soviets of worker deputies in Poland. However, the Polish bourgeoisie, by playing on nationalist prejudices, was able to poison pretty broad circles of the population with the venom of great-power, reckless anti-Soviet propaganda.

Assessing the situation in Poland, Lenin said at the Eighth Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Congress in March 1919: "...The majority of Polish workers...believe in social-defense and social-patriotism.... And the workers there are being intimidated with the claim that the Muscovites and Great Russians, who have always oppressed the Poles, want to introduce into Poland their great Russian chauvinism under the cover of the name of communism." ("Complete Collected Works," vol 36, pp 161-162) At the same time the ruling circles, exploiting the illusions that had arisen under the conditions of the restoration of Poland's independence and promising social and democratic reforms, kept the broad masses and above all the peasant masses from actively supporting the revolution. As a result the revolutionary forces were defeated. The bourgeois authorities broke up the worker soviets in July 1919.

Having consolidated its positions, the bourgeoisie immediately demonstrated that its hatred of the revolution that had created the conditions for Poland's reunification was infinitely stronger than its ostentatious concern for the country's national interests. The Polish rulers ignored the matter of the

reunification of the western and northern Polish lands, the overwhelming proportion of which remained part of Germany, and signed the Versailles Peace Treaty of 1919. This treaty lent a monstrous nature to Poland's western borders and placed the country's main vital centers in constant jeopardy of an attack by imperialist Germany. At the same time the Versailles Peace Treaty left the question of Poland's eastern borders open, encouraging the country to embark on anti-Soviet aggression. Egged on by the French, British and U.S. imperialists, Poland's ruling circles unleashed war against the Soviet Republic with the aim of tearing age-old Belorussian and Ukrainian lands away from the Soviet state. Exploiting the desire of the land of the soviets to get down to peaceful building as swiftly as possible, the Polish Government foisted on it the Riga peace of 1921, which was unfair to the Soviet state. Artificially displaced to the east and rent by profound social and national contradictions, Poland was a weak but rapacious bourgeois-landowner state.

In December 1918, soon after the formation of the Polish state, the Communist Workers Party of Poland (KRPP; after 1925 it was called the Communist Party of Poland, KPP) emerged on the basis of the unification of the SKPIL and the PPS-Lewica. Both the parties that formed the KRPP had experience of long cooperation with the Russian workers movement. Many KRPP figures were personally acquainted with Lenin, had worked with him in partywide organs and had associated with him as emigres.

In his speeches and articles Lenin systematically analyzed the situation in Poland, the policy of its ruling circles and the class struggle of the proletariat and the working peasantry. These speeches of Lenin's had as one of their aims that of explaining to the workers, peasants and Red Army men of the Soviet land how and why Poland, whose people's masses had long been allies of revolutionary Russia, had come to be an instrument of anti-Soviet aggressive policy. When Polish communists learned of them, Lenin's speeches helped them to better orient themselves regarding events and the choice of path to their immediate and long-term goals.

The historical service of the KRPP was the fact that it headed the Polish working people's revolutionary struggle and always resolutely opposed the anti-Soviet line of Polish governments and the anti-Sovietism of the "new" PPS, which was formed in 1919 through a merger of the reformist socialist parties that had previously operated in the Austrian, Russian and German parts of Poland. The KRPP's struggle against Poland's anti-Soviet policy was also a struggle for the country's vital interests and the consolidation of its international positions.

At the same time the KRPP also made miscalculations in the first year of its activity. In 1920, for instance, when the power of the Provisional Revolutionary Committee of Poland, whose chairman was J. Marchlewski, was established on part of Poland's territory during the rout of Pilsudski's "March on Kiev," the party did not divide up landowners' land among the peasants and did not heed Lenin's recommendation to always link the interests of the workers with the peasants and to seek a firm worker-peasant alliance or his advice on giving "real help to the peasants in the shape of the land and forests belonging to the landowners." ("Complete Collected Works," vol 51, p 264)

On 19 October 1921 Lenin sent a letter to the Polish Communists. Behind the few lines of Lenin's document there lay both the ideas about Poland, about the Polish working class and about its revolutionary vanguard accumulated over decades of struggle, close attention to all the information that came in about Poland and conversations and correspondence with comrades-in-arms who were well-informed about Polish affairs--F. Dzerzhinskiy, J. Marchlewski, J. Ganecki, F. Kon, J. Unszlicht and S. Pestkowski.

Lenin's letter began with a brief analysis of the situation in Poland. He wrote that as a result of the financial collapse and shameless plundering of Poland by entente capital, "the practical exposure of great-power and national illusions is beginning, their clear, tangible exposure so far as the masses, the ordinary worker and the ordinary peasant are concerned" ("Complete Collected works," vol 44, p 180).

While warning against jumping the gun and against exaggerating the scale and profundity of the exposure of illusions, Lenin cautioned against premature action and the danger of falling for a provocation. "At all costs grow the revolution until the fruit is completely ripe," he wrote, while pointing to the colossal international importance of the victory of a revolution in Poland (ibidem p 181). And he recommended that means of agitation among the peasants "be considered rather more carefully" choosing whatever "will best swing the sympathies of backward peasants behind us" (ibidem).

The letter helped the Polish Communists to further assimilate the theoretical, tactical and organizational principles of Marxism-Leninism. Using and critically assessing its own experience and relying more fully on the experience of the Bolshevik Party and the international Communist movement, the KRPP turned resolutely toward systematic work among the masses, toward a struggle for their everyday needs and toward the broad combination of illegal work with all possible forms of legal work. Desires to create a united worker front and to form a firm alliance with the working peasantry and the working people's masses of the oppressed nationalities, who made up the overwhelming majority of the population of the country's eastern voivodships, were displayed in the party's activity. Two national territorial organizations--the Communist Party of the west Ukraine and the Communist Party of west Belorussia--began operating within the KRPP in order to work among that population.

The Second KRPP Congress, held in the fall of 1923, adopted a number of fundamentally important decisions full of Leninist ideas. In them the congress stated with alarm that the Polish exploiter classes were cooperating with the Polish people's worst enemies--the German and other imperialists.

At the suggestion of A. Warski, an SKPIL figure and KRPP leader, the congress elected Lenin its honorary chairman and sent him a greetings message speaking of his extremely great role in the first victorious proletarian revolution and in the future world revolution.

Before long Lenin died.

In its appeal in connection with the death of the leader [vozhd] the KRPP Central Committee called him a giant who "absorbed the sufferings and torments of the millions of exploited people and hurled those millions into the struggle...into the struggle for liberation from the fetters of capitalism" ("Documents and Material on the History of Soviet-Polish Relations" vol IV, Moscow 1966, p 259).

Continuing to struggle for the triumph of Leninist ideas and for the cause of socialism, the KRPP-KPP achieved considerable successes but also endured grim trials. The Polish Communists, ruthlessly persecuted by Pilsudski's "Sanacja" regime, which was running the country on fascist lines, selflessly advocated a popular front, democracy, socialism and Polish alliance and friendship with the USSR. They exposed the criminal and adventurist policy of the ruling circles, who even then, when the direct threat of fascist attack hung over Poland, had not abandoned their plans for collusion with the Hitlerites at the USSR's expense, helped wreck the Anglo-Franco-Soviet talks in Moscow in the spring of 1939 and rejected the very possibility of concluding a mutual aid pact between Poland and the USSR.

At the very grave of Hitler's brigandage in Poland the Communists inspired people with the faith that the enemy could be crushed, that he had to be fought and that Poland would be free. The dawn of that freedom began to break when the battles of the Soviet Union's Great Patriotic War against Hitler's Germany started. Operating underground on two counts, being in jeopardy from both the occupiers and local reactionary forces, the Communists were the initiators of the creation of the Polish Workers Party (PPR). The PPR came into being in January 1942 in occupied Warsaw and emerged as a Marxist-Leninist Party that had absorbed all the best traditions of the Polish workers movement. In its first proclamation "To the Workers, Peasants and Intelligentsia; To all Polish Patriots," the party indicated that it was struggling for the same cause to which Ludwik Warynski, the organizer of the "Proletariat" Party, had devoted himself. The PPR later invariably stressed that it was following the same political course that the "Proletariat" Party had mapped out. Developing and enriching the tremendous revolutionary experience accumulated by the Polish working class, the PPR formulated the integral concept of a people's Poland playing a new role, relying on the Soviet Union's assistance and paving the way for social and national justice, for socialism. The party's historical optimism stemmed from a Marxist-Leninist understanding of the historical process and a conviction of the inevitability of the rout of Hitlerism and the victory of the forces of progress, democracy and socialism.

The new Poland, liberated from the invaders in 1944-1945, emerged as a people's democratic state developing in the direction of socialism. With the conclusion of the Soviet-Polish Treaty on Friendship, Mutual Aid and Postwar Cooperation in April 1945 the Russian-Polish revolutionary alliance between two fraternal countries and peoples.

It was then that the long split in the Polish workers movement was overcome. In liberated Poland the left wing of the PPS, disbanded in 1939, formed a socialist party fundamentally different from its predecessor. The reborn PPS jettisoned the anti-Soviet and anticommunist concepts of the interwar years and accepted the program of socialist transformations formulated by the PPR.

In December 1948 the PPR and the PPS merged on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. The Polish United Workers Party thus created assumed the leadership of the sociopolitical life of the Polish People's Republic. Over the course of their free development the Polish people, under the leadership of the revolutionary vanguard of the working class--the Polish Workers Party and later the Polish United Workers Party--have achieved outstanding successes, transformed the entire country, changed their social structure and way of life and improved their cultural level. Thus the course of history has proved the great strength of Lenin's prediction that only a close alliance between Polish workers and the Russian working class would provide complete political and economic liberation.

The Polish Communists and the Polish working class are greeting the centennial of the organized workers movement in their country under complex conditions. But the tremendous experience of the struggle for social and national liberation and for a revolutionary alliance with the Russian working class, with the CPSU and the Soviet Union and the experience of many years of building People's Poland provide a reliable precondition for the Polish Communists, acting with Leninist principledness and relying on Marxist-Leninist teaching, to lead the country forward along the socialist path irrevocably chosen by the Polish people.

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AFRICA TODAY

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[Article by Anatoliy Gromyko, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member]

[Text] The revolutionary process in Africa expanded and intensified during the second half of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s. The Portuguese colonial empire, the last of its kind, crumbled under the pressure of the liberation struggle, marking an important stage in the process of emancipation of the African peoples. With the support of world socialism, the patriotic forces in Angola and Ethiopia repelled the pressure of domestic and foreign reaction. The attempt to impose a neocolonialist solution to the problem of Zimbabwe failed. The racist rule in that country was abolished. The liberation struggle is heating up in Namibia and South Africa, this colonial bastion of imperialism. As was pointed out at the 26th CPSU Congress, the rule of the "classical" colonizers and racists is nearing its end in the southern part of the continent.

The energizing of efforts leading to the creation of a national industry is part of the achievements of independent Africa. New factories and plants using local raw materials are under construction. The transportation infrastructure, which helps to organize inter-African economic relations, is developing gradually. The nationalization of enterprises owned by foreign companies in some production sectors made it possible to put them on the service of the national economy. Great attention is being paid to agricultural upsurge. Feudal landowning is being eliminated, agrarian reforms are under way and a new agrotechnology is being applied.

As a whole, however, the elimination of economic backwardness has proved to be an extremely complex matter, far more difficult than was initially imagined. This clearly disappointed and concerned some African leaders according to whom Africa had become mired into the sands of economic backwardness. Indeed, substantial grounds exist on which to base pessimistic assessments of the current economic situation of most independent African countries. At the same time, however, we must not fail to note that the main reason for this is found in external factors, i.e., the policy of the Western countries. "The imperialists," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has pointed out, "are not pleased by the strength and independence of the liberated countries. Through thousands of ways and means they try to tie such countries to themselves in order to have freer access to their natural resources and to use

their territories in accordance with their strategic plans." The justice of these words is clearly confirmed by the situation in the African countries experiencing a difficult period in their history.

Socioeconomic Problems

Despite their great variety in terms of natural, geographic, demographic and social features, the African countries share many common traits. One of the most important among them is economic backwardness inherited from the colonial past. A number of important production sectors are absent in most of them. Their economy is dominated either by agriculture or the extraction of minerals. The processing industry and transportation are relatively weak and little electric power is being produced.

Considerable changes have taken place in the African countries during the period of their independence. However, they do not determine the overall picture. Twenty-one of the 50 African countries inhabited by 470 million people, or 14 percent of the population in the nonsocialist world, belong to the so-called "least developed countries." They virtually lack modern production facilities, are chronically short of skilled cadres and have undeveloped commodity relations. Also noteworthy is the extreme disproportion among African countries: 10 of the 50 countries (excluding South Africa) account for 80 percent of the entire output and income on the continent. These include Egypt, Algeria, Libya, Morocco, Tunisia, Nigeria, Ghana, Sudan, Gabon and the Ivory Coast.

Although Africa is playing an increasingly noticeable role in international relations, its position in the global capitalist economy is more than modest. Between 1960 and 1980 the share contributed by the independent African countries to the gross national product (GNP) in the capitalist world rose, according to assessments, from 2.5 to no more than 3.2 percent; in raw material production, from 1.2 to 2.5 percent; and in the processing industry, from 0.8 to 1 percent. Africa's share is somewhat higher in agricultural production, amounting to about 10 percent. However, this level has remained stable since 1960.

Lacking adequate financial resources, technology and specialists of their own, most of the countries on the continent are nevertheless trying to develop modern production and are forced to turn for help to the industrially developed Western countries. The dependence on Western financial, material and technical resources is a negative feature of the present condition of the African economy. This is manifested above all in the fact that key positions in the economy of most African countries are still held by foreign monopoly capital, which creates economic instability and worsens the financial situation. At the same time, the neocolonialist exploitation of the African countries is intensifying and their foreign indebtedness is growing. At the beginning of the 1980s it had exceeded \$60 billion. Imports of food are increasing and the predatory activities of the multinational corporations (MNC) is increasing.

As a whole, following their independence the African countries have been unable to consolidate their positions in global trade. Their share in exports of agricultural and mineral raw materials (excluding petroleum) dropped respectively from 9 to 5 and from 8 to 3 percent between 1960 and 1980. The export prices of a large number of goods such as copper, iron, sugar, walnuts, peanut oil, bananas, cotton and some others repeatedly declined.

By virtue of these circumstances and the substantial increase in petroleum prices the structure of African exports changed substantially. During the second half of the 1970s two-thirds of the exports of African countries south of the Sahara consisted of only four items: petroleum, followed by coffee, cocoa beans and copper. Let us point out that including the North African countries the share of petroleum in overall African exports has reached 70 percent. The existence or lack of petroleum became a substantial factor in the economic situation of one country or another. In 1979 alone income from petroleum exports by four countries--Algeria, Gabon, Libya and Nigeria--increased from \$27.5 to \$43 billion. Of late, however, this group of countries as well is experiencing certain difficulties. Whereas the 1970s were noted by a "boom" in the income of petroleum exporters, at the beginning of the 1980s their income declined sharply. Thus, Nigeria's daily petroleum output dropped down to almost one-third last year, for American companies refused to purchase Nigerian petroleum at OPEC prices. As a result, the foreign exchange reserves of the country declined quite substantially.

As to the countries on the continent without petroleum resources, which number nearly 40, paying for their petroleum purchases became an exceptionally difficult problem. In 1980 they paid for petroleum imports totaling more than \$7 billion, or almost 30 percent of their export income. This substantially predetermined the lowering of their foreign exchange reserves. In 1981 this occurred in 18 out of 34 countries for which data exist, totaling \$10.1 billion.

According to UNCTAD data, it is expected that between 1980 and 1985 the average pace of economic growth of African countries will be about 5 percent annually, i.e., that it will remain on the level of the 1960s-1970s. Such relative "stability" is caused by the fact that their industrial production as a whole has been less affected by drops in the developed capitalist countries. According to data for 1981, the volume of industrial output has been preserved or has increased in North African countries other than Libya, whose GNP declined as a result of reduced petroleum extraction. The Algerian GNP reached 158 billion Algerian dinars, or nearly half as much as in 1979. Tunisia and Egypt increased their processing industry output. Favorable weather conditions in central and southern Africa made it possible to increase, although insignificantly, agricultural production. Last year, as a result of increased petroleum extraction and exports, Cameroon, the Ivory Coast, and the People's Republic of the Congo improved their economic situation somewhat.

However, the different degree of influence of the crisis in the capitalist world and the uneven development conditions in the individual African

countries intensified their differentiation in the 1980s. In a number of countries the situation is becoming stabilized as a result of the increased extraction of mineral ore and petroleum. However, the beginning of the 1980s was adverse in the case of the Sudan, Zaire, Morocco, Somali and partially Kenya for a variety of reasons (political, weather, foreign economic, and others).

The financing of social measures has been very limited in virtually all African countries. The situation of the broad population strata worsened as prices of prime necessity goods rose as a result of steady increases in the prices of imports. According to the international monetary fund, the rate of inflation in Africa, which had reached 28 percent in 1980, has slowed down somewhat.

The arms race which imperialism is imposing on the independent African countries is having an extremely adverse effect on their economic situation. By worsening the tension and provoking conflicts and clashes, imperialism is trying to force the young and economically weak countries to spend substantial funds on defense, which are so greatly needed for surmounting economic backwardness. The military expenditures of African countries increased by a factor of almost 20 between 1956 and 1980, totaling about \$110 billion in 1973 prices. In recent years the growth rates of military outlays have been exceeding the average annual growth of the GNP in the area by one-half.

Imperialism and neocolonialism are responsible for African disasters. Compared with the beginning of the 1970s, direct foreign capital investments have nearly doubled, totaling \$11 billion. As the multinational corporations expand their operations, their incomes grow. According to our estimates, for each dollar in new investments in Africa the foreign monopolies take out of it every year about \$3.50. The growing plunder of the area is imposing a heavy burden on its balance of payments. The already low pace of diversification of the African economy is held back and a deformation afflicts the structure of the national industries.

Imperialist Tactics

The intensification of the revolutionary process in Africa and the strengthening of solidarity between the national liberation forces and the socialist comity, despite the entire variety in the political situation on the continent, sharply clash with the global strategy of imperialism, of the United States above all.

As a whole, the expansionistic course charted by imperialism is meeting with the opposition of the African peoples. However, the scale of this opposition is weakened as a result of the instability of the situation and the existence of sharp conflict situations and the adverse economic status of many African countries. Profiting from the economic difficulties experienced by these countries in recent years, imperialism is energizing its efforts aimed at their even greater enslavement and maintaining their unequal status in the world capitalist system. To this effect the Western monopolies are trying to maintain the pace of imports from the capitalist countries to the countries

on the continent. This ensures them with a market for their commodities and creates an even more favorable climate for the foreign companies. In order to finance their imports, they intend to accelerate the exports of African countries and involve more extensively monopoly capital as well as considerably increase the aid they receive from international funds.

At the same time, the imperialist countries are deliberately granting subsidies and loans to many African countries with a view to resolving a strategic problem about which, in truth, they would rather not talk--the preservation of the economic and financial dependence of African countries on monopoly capital and tying them even more solidly to the global capitalist market. At the present time the outlays of such countries for paying their foreign debts exceed \$10 billion annually.

The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development has recommended to the industrially developed capitalist countries and the members of OPEC to double their financial aid to Africa south of the Sahara, from \$5.9 billion in 1979 to \$14.7 billion in 1985 and \$25.7 billion in 1990. Let us particularly emphasize that this does not represent simply aid to Africa, as is frequently described in the West, but above all funds which ensure financial and trade turnover between the West and Africa, including operations by multinational corporations and smaller foreign companies and banks operating in Africa.

The problem of financing African imports largely depends on the economic situation and trading conditions in the capitalist world. It is based, however, on exports of African raw materials. Subsequent to a decline in their extraction in the 1970s, signs of renewed interest have appeared in African deposits of uranium, bauxites, iron, and phosphates.

It is expected that by 1983 Africa's share in the extraction of iron ore in the capitalist world will increase from 11 to 16 percent (Liberia, Ivory Coast, Guinea); from 18 to 26 percent in the production of bauxites and from 2.4 to 8.8 percent in their local processing (Guinea and Ghana). Plants for the production of fertilizer based on rich phosphorite deposits are under construction in Algeria, Senegal and Morocco. New international consortiums are being set up to exploit these deposits. According to UNCTAD data, the implementation of these plans will increase the share of the mining industry in the African GNP by 3-4 percent by 1985. The development of the extraction and exports of minerals in the 1980s are ascribed great importance by foreign monopoly capital.

The multinational corporations are relying even more on African energy resources. Proven petroleum deposits on the continent are estimated today at 7-8 billion tons and the belief is that by the year 2000 they will be considerably reinforced out of new deposits by yet another 7 billion tons. Naturally, the increased range of African petroleum-extracting countries is important in terms of their future development. At the same time, however, it draws the increased attention of foreign monopoly capital.

At the same time, the Western monopolies express no "optimism" whatever about countries whose economy is based essentially on agriculture. As we know, primitive farming and cattle pasturing still predominate in many such countries. The average annual growth rates of agricultural production are declining on the continent. The decline of agriculture, in turn, hinders industrial production. Currently Africa is forced to import every year about 10 to 11 million tons of grain; in 1979 it imported more than 15 million tons. Such food imports are showing a rising trend. According to the ECA, by the year 2000 Africa will be able to meet no more than 60 to 70 percent of its food requirements from domestic production. It is no accident that the Western countries are greatly relying on African food difficulties and are trying to use food deliveries as a means of political pressure.

Affiliation with the global capitalist economic system entails at least two negative consequences. The first is the plunder of the mineral resources of the African countries and the second is the fast increase of their indebtedness to Western creditors. Naturally, the international financial and economic ties cannot stop the inevitable socioeconomic progress, for history has its own laws. Naturally, the Africans will not abandon their desire for true independence. However, their efforts in this direction will be constantly impeded by international imperialism which, as the facts indicate, is resorting to all possible means in obtaining its objectives.

This is clearly confirmed by the imperialist tactics regarding countries with a socialist orientation. They are clearly marked by two lines. The first is to force them to turn away from their chosen progressive path through force. This involves encouraging South African aggression, promoting separatism, organizing coups d'etat, use of mercenaries, and so on. The second is the undermining of socialist orientation "from within," through measures of economic pressure and blackmail, "loan indenture," extensive penetration of foreign capital, etc.

Of late the United States has particularly relied on encouraging direct capital investments. Through such investments the monopolies gain the possibility of directly influencing the economic development of the African countries and hindering the implementation of domestic radical socioeconomic changes.

Imperialism, American above all, is making persistent efforts to retain its bridgehead in the southern part of Africa in which tension has increased by the fault of the colonizers and their Western protectors. In this area the national liberation movement is increasing in Namibia, the native African population in the Republic of South Africa is acting more energetically against the apartheid regime and the confrontation between the South African authorities and the "front-line" countries is growing. The reaction of the ruling South African circles to the aggravation of the domestic and foreign policy situation includes above all increased military pressure, enjoying Washington's support, on contiguous independent African countries, the intensification of armed operations against SWAPO in Namibia, and the strengthening of the repressive-police apparatus. The reasons for which the West is showing such concern for the South African regime are well-known. In

addition to military-strategic, political-economic factors play an important role. Foreign capital investments in the South African economy exceed \$30 billion.

The problem of Namibia remains unresolved. The reason is that the racist authorities in South Africa are trying to create in Namibia, which has extremely rich natural resources, a puppet regime with the continuing assistance provided by Western countries, the United States, Great Britain, France, the FRG and Canada above all (they are the so-called "contact group"). As to the Soviet Union, it considers SWAPO the exclusive and the true representative of the Namibian people and calls for giving full power in the country to the patriotic forces it heads.

For Economic Independence

The example of the liberated African countries makes it increasingly clear that their underdevelopment cannot be eliminated quickly and efficiently and that they cannot resolve their basic national problems through capitalist development. As the joint document issued by the OAU and the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), 20 years after most African countries obtained their political independence, the African continent is facing the 1980-1990 decade seriously weakened as a result of insufficient development. On the social level, in addition to everything else, this underdevelopment is manifested in the inadequate satisfaction of basic population requirements, remaining extensive illiteracy and the existence of severe epidemic diseases.

As we know, proceeding on the basis of the selfish interests of their monopolies, experts from the developed capitalist countries have worked hard to entice the independent African countries to adopt the development "models" they had formulated. However, their prescriptions for economic development essentially do no more than conceal their desire for the further enslavement of the independent African countries and to preserve their status as the "periphery" of the global capitalist economy. Western Africanists are developing and substantiating the type of economic systems and "models" which are merely reproducing dependence and exploitation under new historical conditions. Without any embarrassment they repeat the thesis to the effect that "the African leaders borrow from the outside" ideas and concepts of development. At the same time they deliberately conceal the obvious fact that Africa has the intention of firmly supporting a new strategy of "collective self-sufficiency" and is unwilling to resolve the problems of its socioeconomic development within the framework of capitalism.

The African countries reached the beginning of the 1980s with a growing conviction that the time has come to take in their own hands the levers of economic development and that they should put an end to their orientation toward the former mother countries and to reject the blind duplication of Western "models" of economic growth and not entirely rely on outside aid in resolving domestic problems. This trend was fully manifested at the extraordinary meeting of heads of states and governments of OAU members on economic development, which was held in Lagos, the capital of Nigeria, in April 1980 and at which the "Lagos plan of action" was adopted. At that time

Nigerian President Shehu Shagari openly said: "We are beginning the next stage in the struggle for the liberation of Africa--the battle for its economic independence."

The "Lagos plan of action" reflects the new African approach to development problems, based on the concept of "collective self-sufficiency" and on the "national economic order within each African country." Briefly stated, the main attention is focused on the organization and consolidation of inter-African cooperation and the gradual elimination of African dependence on foreign influence. In explaining the position of the African countries concerning the problems of national development, A. Adedeji, the ECA executive secretary, noted that "... the new international system of economic relations must begin at home, in Africa--on the national, multinational and regional levels. In other words, the introduction of a new national economic order within each African country and of a subregional and African regional economic order must become the foundation of any new international system of economic relations."

Compared to previous plans, the strategy of African development for the 1980s includes a number of new features such as the principle of self-sufficiency, clear acknowledgement of the need for social changes and reliance on collective efforts. The new plan is noteworthy by the fact that it is based not on adapting the African economy to the needs of Western European and North American countries but on the interests of its autonomous development. The plan calls upon the African states to take measures to ensure the radical reorganization of their economic base. It recommends that development be based essentially on domestic forces and means and rely on collective resources and on the local and regional markets. Let us note among the basic tasks of the "Lagos plan of action" the organization of national control over the natural resources of the continent, ensuring the population with domestically produced food, development of an industrial base, training of national skilled cadres, development of science and technology, market integration and improvements in planning.

The "Lagos plan of action" confirms the existence of a profound disappointment on the part of the African public in the plans which were imposed upon it by the Western monopolies. It proves the acknowledgement of internal factors and resources as the foundations of economic progress. Important features of the plan include the realization of the need to weaken the dependence of economic growth on external factors such as foreign aid and other influx of foreign investments, technology and specialists. Finally, it emphasizes the desire of the independent African countries to change the objectives of socioeconomic development, to enhance the living standard of the broad population strata and to organize among themselves firm and mutually profitable economic cooperation.

The countries with a socialist orientation, whose economic and social policy is based on class foundations and on the interests of the working people, will be particularly important in the struggle waged by the African countries for the implementation of their development strategy in the 1980s. During the last decade the number of such African countries increased significantly.

However, the essence of the matter cannot be reduced merely to quantity. Important qualitative changes have taken place within the socialist orientation itself, as an objective phenomenon of the socioeconomic development of African countries. These countries are trying to develop a material and technical foundation for a new society within a historically compressed time and at the same time resolve problems of a social nature (expanding the network of hospitals and schools and improving the living standard of the population). An increasingly large number of Africans realized that a socialist orientation is the way leading to true national independence based on economic autonomy.

The specific historical conditions governing the appearance and intensification of socialist orientation in Africa are greatly predetermined by the characteristics and specific features of the individual countries. However, common criteria exist as well, such as the creation and strengthening of revolutionary-democratic parties and vanguard parties which are guided by the theory of scientific socialism; the elimination of the exploitation of man by man; the organization and subsequent strengthening and expansion of the state sector; the implementation of extensive agrarian reforms; and the making of a cultural revolution affecting the broad social strata. Unquestionably, the experience and example of the countries with a socialist orientation will be a major contribution to the true liberation of Africa.

Important Factor in African Progress

The USSR is the natural ally of the young countries in the persistent struggle of the liberated African countries to surmount economic difficulties and in the course of their increasing confrontation with imperialist forces. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev clearly answered the question of the way the Soviet Union would like Africa to be: "The way the Africans themselves want it--peaceful, independent, and prosperous! For Africa is the realm of the vital interests of the Africans themselves and of no one else."

The development of Soviet-African relations is taking place under the conditions of the intensive struggle along two directions in world politics: the course of restraining the arms race, strengthening peace and detente and the defense of the sovereign rights and freedoms of the peoples, and the course of undermining detente, urging on the arms race, interfering in foreign affairs and suppressing the liberation movement. The clash between these two courses on the African continent, combined with increasing sociopolitical differentiation among liberated countries, naturally cannot fail to affect the forms of cooperation between the Soviet Union and the individual countries. Nevertheless, relations between the USSR and the independent African countries remain stable. With many of them they are not only between governments but between parties, and trade union, youth and other public organizations as well. The Soviet Union counters the dangerous plans of imperialism with a policy which is earning increasing recognition in Africa and which contributes to the enhancement of its role in world politics and international economic relations and helps to counter imperialist efforts to achieve a new, this time neocolonialist, division of the continent.

The experience in Soviet-African cooperation clearly proves that it is offering substantial advantages to the independent African countries

compared with their relations with the developed capitalist states. Unlike the West, the Soviet Union concentrates its efforts on strengthening the basic industrial sectors in the African countries--ferrous metallurgy, machine building, chemical and petroleum refining industries. The results of such cooperation are fully owned by the partner state. About three-quarters of the overall volume of Soviet cooperation with the countries on the continent apply to industry and the power industry. For the sake of comparison let us point out that the "official aid" of the capitalist states to the liberated countries for production purposes ranges from 15 to 40 percent. Furthermore, most of these projects do not include a complete production cycle. They are assembling enterprises which depend on imported semifinished goods.

At the beginning of the 1980s the Soviet Union had concluded intergovernmental trade agreements with 39 and agreements for economic and technical cooperation with 34 African countries. During the 1970s Soviet trade with the African states nearly doubled. Today it exceeds 2 billion rubles. The Soviet Union has undertaken the obligation to build in Africa more than 500 industrial, agricultural and other projects, almost three-fifths of which have already been completed.

Whereas in the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s trade and economic cooperation with the Soviet Union on this continent was developed primarily with the North African countries, in recent years it has expanded substantially. In 1980 tropical Africa already accounted for 36 percent of the entire trade between the USSR and the African countries, compared with 13 percent in 1970. Trade and economic relations with countries with a socialist orientation, Angola and Ethiopia in particular, as well as with Algeria and Guinea, have been developing most dynamically in recent years. In 1980 the countries with socialist orientation accounted for three-quarters of Soviet trade with Africa.

The projects completed with Soviet aid in Africa in recent years include many large or even leading enterprises in terms of the economy of the corresponding countries. This includes, for example, the second part of the metallurgical plant in Algeria, the capacity of which was raised to 2 million tons of steel, and an enterprise for the production of 2.5 million tons of bauxites in Guinea. An agreement was reached with Morocco on cooperating on a compensatory basis in the extraction of phosphates. More than 20 electric power plants generating a total of 2.3 million kilowatts are under construction or will be built on the continent with Soviet assistance. Projects built in Africa include light and food industry and agricultural enterprises, irrigation systems and scientific centers. Soviet organizations are participating in geological survey operations in 15 African countries.

With Soviet help thousands of engineers and technicians and dozens of thousands of skilled workers have been trained in the African countries. Seventeen VUZs, 20 secondary specialized schools and 90 vocational-technical training centers have been built or are under construction, many of which employ Soviet teachers. The further increase in our aid is contemplated in training national cadres, including specialists with higher and secondary training, and in the development of the scientific and technical potential, particularly in the area of applied research and development.

The largest projects which are being created or will be constructed in the 1970s in the African countries with Soviet economic and technical aid include metallurgical plants in Algeria and Nigeria, the "Melka-Vakana" hydroelectric power plant in Ethiopia and the "Kapanda" hydroelectric power plant, generating 450,000 kilowatts, in Angola. The plans also include the development of cotton growing in Angola and Mozambique, geological surveys and prospecting in Ethiopia, Congo, Mozambique, Madagascar and many other countries, and expanding the capacities of ore-mining enterprises in Guinea-Bissau and Congo.

Soviet-African trade and technical and economic cooperation is based on equal and mutually profitable relations. It calls for providing economic and technical aid to the African countries in geological surveys and prospecting, increasing the extraction of minerals and fuel, resolving problems related to agricultural upsurge, developing the power industry and creating projects within the economic infrastructure needed in order to increase the production and export of goods produced by the ore-mining industry and agriculture, and the construction of processing industry enterprises, whose output will be used primarily to meet the needs of the African countries themselves.

Extensive possibilities exist for the development of Soviet-African economic relations. This is based mainly on the common nature of the most important interests and tasks of global socialism and the national liberation movement. It would be no exaggeration to say that by concluding with many liberated countries their first governmental agreements, based on the total and unconditional recognition of their sovereignty, the Soviet Union is essentially contributing to the involvement of many African countries in international relations as equal partners.

The African countries are experiencing a difficult and conflicting process of economic, political, social and cultural renewal. The acquisition of political independence was a powerful impulse for the intensification of the anti-imperialist revolution on the continent and the struggle for progressive socioeconomic change. A large number of difficulties must be surmounted along this way. Africa cannot resolve complex economic problems without mobilizing all the internal resources of the African countries themselves and without strengthening their unity in the anti-imperialist struggle. However, the most important condition without which no progress in general is possible is the preservation of peace on earth. It is only under the conditions of peace and detente that further successes are possible in the struggle for freedom, national independence, equality and social and economic progress.

In turn, the Soviet Union will give the African countries increasing assistance in resolving the difficult problems they face. As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized at the 26th party congress, "the CPSU will continue systematically to pursue a course of development of cooperation between the USSR and the liberated countries and strengthening the alliance between world socialism and the national-liberation movement."

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SOCIOECONOMIC IMPERATIVES OF DETENTE

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[Article by Doctor of Economic Sciences O. Sal'kovskiy]

[Text] The problems of war and peace, which are inseparably related to the struggle against militarism and for disarmament and peaceful mutually profitable cooperation among countries and peoples, have assumed today the significance of a most important global problem. The heating of international tension by the aggressive imperialist circles, achieved by fanning mistrust of and hostility toward countries belonging to different socioeconomic systems, the unrestrained arms race and thoughtless foreign policy adventures, on the one hand, and the persistent efforts of the socialist states to strengthen the spirit of reciprocal trust and cooperation in international relations and limiting the arsenals of increasingly destructive weapons, on the other, are the two basic trends which confront each other in contemporary global politics. The actions of the militant imperialist forces are aimed at turning the course of events back to the cold war. They reveal with extreme clarity the criminal irresponsibility and antisocial line of the policy pursued by the ruling circles in the United States and its closest allies.

The truly gigantic efforts made by the CPSU and the Soviet state to improve the international situation, to preserve and strengthen detente and to put an end to the arms race are universally known. "Regardless of the current importance of one problem or another," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasizes, "no task is more important and affecting the life of every man on earth than achieving real disarmament. The main problem which is today on the agenda of our lives is to put an end to the arms race, reduce it and, in the final account, eliminate the threat of thermonuclear catastrophe."

The problems related to the immediate socioeconomic consequences of the arms race, to which imperialism would like to give a new scope, are inseparably related to the prevention of a nuclear conflict which threatens human civilization with global disaster. Facts prove that increased tension, growing arms stockpiles and militarization of the economy are having an increasingly adverse effect on the development of productive forces in the leading capitalist countries, absorbing an increasing share of their material and financial resources and becoming increasingly tangible obstacles on the way to resolving their urgent problems related to surmounting crisis difficulties.

The level of awareness of the socioeconomic significance of the struggle for the preservation and intensification of detente and the nature of the approach to it are already now affecting the shaping of the ideological and political positions of the various mass movements and the real content of the programs and practical activities of governments, parties, trade unions and other public organizations in the nonsocialist part of the world. The supporters of an aggressive foreign policy course are doing everything possible to weaken the growing opposition of the peoples of the world to antidetente and the continuation of the arms race. The efforts of the powerful imperialist propaganda machinery have raised a new wave of support of militarism and its allegedly beneficial influence on economic conditions. The defense industry is presented as a dynamic and firm element in the development of the reproduction mechanism of the capitalist economy. The arms trade is treated as an inseparable part of foreign economic activities, etc.

The absurd slogan, supported neither theoretically nor through economic practice, of "prosperity through the arms race" is accompanied by the aspiration of the supporters of militarism to question the socioeconomic fruitfulness of detente. That is why the effectiveness of the struggle for the preservation and strengthening of peace and disarmament and the further widening of the front on which this struggle is waged depend on the convincing exposure of the defense of militarism, the summation and popularization of positive social experience in the area of detente and the formulation of scientifically substantiated and practically effective demands and programs aimed at the further realization of its socioeconomic potential.

I

Increased war production inevitably leads to the militaristic deformation of the economy, which intensifies the negative aspects of the socioeconomic development of contemporary capitalism. Part of the capital rushes in pursuit of the high rates of profit in the war industries and is concentrated in the hands of gigantic weapon-manufacturing corporations, abandoning the nonmilitary sectors. Despite such intensive capital transfers, the effect of the law of equalization of profit norms as a consequence of intersectorial competition and intersectorial capital migration, formulated by K. Marx, combines with the energetic stimulation of the competitiveness of arms monopolies with the help of state-monopoly means (working for a steadily broadening state defense consumption market, which guarantees quantitative and price parameters of demand, tax benefits far superior to the usual advantages granted monopolies in nonmilitary production, and many others).

The specific favorable conditions for the self-expansion of the capital of the defense concerns are an important factor in the development of the deformation of the national economy. V. I. Lenin himself had noted that the military-industrial capitalist works "nearly always with funds borrowed from the state treasury" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 32, p 319). Today the share of borrowed funds, consisting mostly of government loans, amounts to 80 percent or more of the total capital of the military-industrial monopolies. Thus, in 1978 it averaged 87 percent of the balance of the eight largest defense concerns in the FRG (84 percent in 1970). This creates exceptionally favorable conditions for higher profits from the

defense business. The ratio between net profits and owned capital of these concerns was higher by a factor of approximately 2.5 compared with the largest industrial associations in that country engaged in civilian production.

Government subsidies to the war industry monopolies substantially widen the framework of their accumulation of capital, for it is through the state-monopoly taxation-budget mechanism that some of the added value created by the civilian industry is redistributed in favor of the military-industrial monopolies. The realm of direct exploitation of the working people by the military-industrial monopolies is also broadened. The arms manufacturers squeeze the added product not only out of the millions of workers employed in the defense industry but also in the so-called "paramilitary," i.e. the related sector consisting of subcontracting enterprises manufacturing various assemblies, parts and materials needed by the defense industry.

The defenders of militarism try to use the process of the increasing involvement of social labor resources into defense production in order to substantiate the concept of the allegedly favorable influence of militarization of the economy on the level of employment. The fear of the working people of becoming the next victims of mass unemployment, which has assumed the nature of national catastrophe in most capitalist countries, is being openly speculated with. The groundlessness of such myths is convincingly confirmed by numerous assessments made by objective observers. Thus, according to the work of the Western researcher M. Anderson, which fully coincides with the results of a survey conducted by the American International Union of Machinists and Workers in the Aerospace Industry, during the first half of the 1970s each \$1 billion invested in the war industry created 14,000 jobs less in the United States compared with the same investment in nonmilitary production. Similar conclusions were reached by economists at the University of Illinois and the Michigan Scientific Research Public Interest Group.

The adverse effect of the militarization of production on employment becomes even clearer when we compare investments in the defense industry sector with capital investments in the social infrastructure, the poor development of which has a disastrous effect on the situation of the toiling masses in capitalist countries. According to that same Michigan group, each \$1 billion can provide 76,000 jobs for teachers or 85,000 jobs for secondary medical personnel, whereas in the defense sector of the economy such an investment provided no more than 45,000 jobs in 1978, according to the U. S. Military Information Center.

The total losses in the area of employment, caused by militarization, are huge. A study conducted by the American Coalition for a New Foreign and Domestic Policy indicates that military expenditures in the order of \$ 70-80 billion (the approximate average annual military budget of the United States during the first half of the 1970s) reduced demand on the labor market by more than 900,000 jobs per year. Along with the growth of defense expenditures the potential demand for manpower is being curtailed in the United States. The further escalation of defense allocations planned by the administration in Washington for the years to come means a loss of opportunity for preserving or providing jobs to many more hundreds of thousands of American working people.

Production militarization does not weaken crises in the capitalist economy, as the representatives of the military-industrial complexes try to convince Western public opinion. Whereas on the surface of economic life increased arms production and governmental military consumption may create the effect of temporary improvements in the situation, in the final account they intensify the sectorial imbalance in the national economy. The structural crisis is manifested mainly in the growing disproportion between the defense and civilian sectors and the uneven conditions governing capital self-growth in these sectors, i.e., through the depreciation of capital outside the defense industry sector. These circumstances cannot be ignored even by orthodox bourgeois economists. In this connection, S. Mellman, professor at Columbia University and a specialist in defense industry problem, wrote in THE NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE that "The absorption of technology and capital resources by the aerospace and other military-industrial projects empoverishes the civilian sector and paralyzes the growth of productivity..."

Militarization also intensifies the structural imbalance within the civilian sector itself, affecting above all enterprises outside defense-related production. It is precisely in such sectors (ferrous metallurgy, the automobile industry, civil construction and the textile and printing industries) that in recent years production has been curtailed and mass layoffs have taken place.

The working people in the West are realizing with increasing clarity the negative nature of the influence which the militarization of industry exerts on their socioeconomic interests. Demands for reconversion, i.e., the conversion of defense industry enterprises and entire sectors to the production of civilian goods are being raised with increasing persistence by the labor movements in various countries. Even under the circumstances of a militaristic hysteria and accelerated development of defense production, here and there the working people have been able to achieve a perhaps limited but nevertheless actual reconversion of some enterprises. This has quite convincingly exposed the groundlessness of the arguments of the supporters of antidetente regarding the alleged complexity and difficulty of converting defense enterprises to civilian production which, assumedly, inevitably reduced employment.

The British workers' movement in particular has gained some experience in the practical struggle for reconversion. In the middle of the 1970s an attempt was made here to develop a coordinate action program between the Labor Party and the unions on the basis of the suggestions made by the Laborists during the electoral campaign on the reduction of military expenditures. After the Labor government had shown its inconsistency in the implementation of the plans for partial demilitarization of industry, a number of trade unions in the war industries took matters in their own hands. The joint committee of shop stewards at the enterprises of the big Lucas Aerospace Concern drafted a program for converting to the production of alternate civilian goods, such as new models of electrical systems, transport facilities, ship fittings, medical equipment and others without any layoffs. This initiative met with a broad response, and many trade unions formulated similar reconversion demands during the renegotiations of collective labor contracts with management.

II

Unquestionably, the development of the struggle for the demilitarization of industrial production in the leading capitalist countries faces the labor movement with major difficulties and problems. The disparity between the real situation and the idea of "guaranteed jobs through militarization" is obvious to few workers, technicians, engineers and white collar workers engaged in weapons manufacturing. Many among them are sceptical on the subject of reconversion. This idea faces particular difficulties in areas in which the concentration of defense industries has distorted the public production structure and where the share of the proletariat engaged in arms manufacturing is particularly high (such as the Pacific coast in the United States, Bavaria, Baden-Wurttemberg, North Rhineland-Westphalia in the FRG, etc.). According to K. Gill, one of the leaders of the United Trade Union of British Machine Building Workers, widening the front of struggle waged by the working people for reconversion requires increased mass general political and practical activities on the part of individuals and organizations which can convincingly prove the socioeconomic perniciousness of the militarization of industry and economically substantiate the complex reconversion programs.

The raises the problems of actively encouraging in the public an understanding of the economic expediency of detente and disarmament through the prompt formulation of civilian alternatives to defense production, presented as specific formulations of current and long-term reconversion plans. In this manner, K. Mehrens, the West German sociologist emphasizes, "concepts regarding a policy of peace my acquire a specific content, above all in the trade unions." Interesting in this respect is the memorandum made public in the FRG in 1980 entitled "Proposal on the Disarmament of the Federal Republic," which reflects the views of a number of leading West German trade unions, emphasizing the need for developing alternatives to defense production by the state. This, they claim, can be achieved "by curtailing defense expenditures and reducing taxes. This would raise individual consumption and stimulate investments; this could also be achieved by retaining the level of state expenditures while establishing an alternate (nonmilitary) demand on the part of the state," in medical services, development of public transportation, cultural-consumer services, vocational training of the working people, housing construction, etc. According to the memorandum's authors, about one quarter (in terms of value) of the overall volume of output of defense enterprises could be used for different purposes.

The authors cite computations according to which reconversion would require the retraining of no more than 20 percent of the working people employed in the defense industry. The memorandum refutes the concept shared by some blue and white-collar workers regarding the inevitably higher earnings at defense enterprises. Although hourly wages in the U. S. aerospace industry are 10 percent higher than the average for industry, they are substantially lower than wages in the chemical and petroleum refining industries.

However, it is important to emphasize that the existence of objective prerequisites for reconversion processes cannot alone bring about any partial demilitarization of industry. However convincing the economic necessity and organizational and technical plausibility of reconversion processes may be,

they would have no political and practical grounds without the daily persistent struggle of the broad popular masses for the preservation and intensification of detente and for limiting and totally ending the arms race.

The decisive importance of this circumstance is pointed out by the communist and worker parties. They also believe that the close combination between this direction in the antimilitaristic struggle and the development of antimonopoly programs, aimed at restricting the omnipotence of the financial oligarchy and mainly of its most reactionary faction -- the rulers of the military-industrial complexes -- is another important condition for the socioeconomic effectiveness of reconversion.

Practical experience proves that the militant state-monopoly leaders are not only pursuing a policy of frontal opposition to economic reconversion but are camouflaging the process of industrial militarization, aimed at emasculating the antimilitaristic content of the struggle waged by the working people for reconversion. Thus, they sometimes even pretend to be interested in it, formulating plans for the study of "alternate uses of production capacities for the manufacturing of civilian goods," etc. Actually, such projects are reduced to either concealing the scale of the continuing militarization of production or the organizational-production updating of the defense industry sector. In the FRG, for example, efforts are being made to create the appearance of partial reconversion by diversifying production programs, i.e., by including in them the production of some civilian goods, or by merging military concerns with civilian companies. The rulers of the military-industrial concerns are also resorting to concealing the volume of defense production on the national level with the help of multinational production cooperation and specialization.

The close cooperation among the national military-industrial complexes within the imperialist military blocs and the increased role played by the multinational military-industrial monopolies raise most urgently and immediately the task of internationalizing the movement for the demilitarization of industrial output and coordinating the actions of the national detachments of the anti-imperialist movement in such areas as well.

III

The militarization of industrial production is inseparably tied to state defense consumption, the growth of which, in turn, is backed by the fiscal policy of the state. The upkeep of the armed forces, purchases of expensive weapons and the direct and indirect subsidizing of defense industry monopolies (loans, tax advantages such as accelerated depreciation of productive capital, etc.), are absorbing an increasing share of the national income.

It is precisely the problems related to the military-industrial complex which have absolute priority today in defining the budget structure of the leading capitalist countries, triggering a chronic scarcity of funds for meeting the vital needs of society. The intensification of militarization is being achieved increasingly by "dismantling the social policy," i.e., by curtailing appropriations for social needs. Thus, the 1986 U. S. budget calls for

reducing allocations (taking the depreciation of the dollar into consideration) as follows: Children's food program, 55 percent; health and social care, 49 percent; primary and secondary education, 32 percent; public transportation, 96 percent, etc. Similar trends may be noted in the budgetary policies of the FRG and the NATO members.

While admitting that the policy of curtailing the social interests of the working people is adversely affecting the situation of the masses, the militant imperialist circles and their supporters raise the concept of the "no-alternative situation," according to which the country's defense potential cannot be maintained without the steady increase of the defense budget in an age of fast and expensive scientific and technical progress. F. Pym, who was British defense secretary in 1979, openly stated, in an effort to justify the program of the conservative government for modernizing the so-called "Independent British nuclear forces" (according to even the most conservative estimates this called for increasing the defense budget by 4-5 billion pounds sterling), that "There can be no 'start-stop' policy in defense..., and although current economic limitations must be taken into consideration, defense expenditures must be assigned highest priority." This was convincingly refuted by British trade union leader K. Gill, who wrote that "While the British are short of housing and exposed to the decline of the social infrastructure and industrial development, it is clear folly to invest huge funds in the maintenance of the military machine." The arguments of the militarists were firmly refuted also by the noted British economist J. Davidson. He convincingly proved that it is precisely the development of new and exceptionally costly nuclear missile systems that aggravates socioeconomic problems.

Let us point out that the situation is worsened by the fact that reduced appropriations for social needs are taking place under conditions typical of capitalism of the 1980s: Slow rates of economic growth, increased unemployment and freezing or reduction of real wages, i.e., under conditions in which the population's need for social benefits is particularly urgent.

The concept of the so-called "inflation incompatibility" is one of the variants of the proofs cited by the supporters of militarism in favor of the "no-alternative situation." They are trying to convince the public that in the course of the growth of defense expenditures the state social policy should be revised, for any increase in budget allocations for social requirements along with increased allocations for armaments would inevitably result in the acceleration of inflationary processes. Having launched the arms race, the imperialist circles are beginning to talk with increasing frequency about the "critical threshold of militarization" which, they claim, can be crossed by the capitalist economy only at the expense of reducing some social costs. The new steps taken by the American government to abolish the social gains of the working people are a clear example of this fact.

However, a closer look at the concept of "inflation incompatibility" exposes it as a propaganda trick. Suffice it to say that the 1981 U. S. federal budget called for a substantial increase in military expenditures together with a reduction in the financing of social programs. However, even this policy of curtailment of social appropriations did not rescue the country from a high inflation rate. Under the influence of the fast increase in

defense expenditures, as American economists have noted, inflation is being replaced by "superinflation."

Some supporters of the arms race have formulated the concept of the "defense budget accelerator," according to which higher state defense expenditures improve the economy and prevent crises. In this case the speculation centers on the fact that to a certain extent increased defense expenditures may postpone temporarily or slow down the cyclical economic decline to a certain extent. In the final account however, national economic problems not only remain unresolved but, on the contrary, the conflicting nature of capitalist reproduction increases and becomes even more explosive. In analysing the adverse effect of the militarization of the budget on socioeconomic development, the noted American economist L. Dumas emphasizes that "In the short term defense expenditures...reduce unemployment, help to increase the purchasing power and create an illusion of prosperity. In the long run, unproductively used resources undermine the economy." This viewpoint is shared by R. de Grasse and D. Gold, members of the American Council on Economic Priorities, who believe that the growth of the military potential promoted by the current administration will severely harm economic development, the effect of which will be felt for decades to come. While pointing out that many opponents of such a growth speak of the short-term consequences of increased defense expenditures, these economists stress that these factors are "insignificant, compared to the long-term harm which will be inflicted on the country's economy as a result of the reduction in capital investments and the one-sided development of science and technology."

"Superinflation" and the "dismantling of social policy" are by far not the full list of alarming terms appearing in the Western press in defining the socioeconomic phenomena caused by the growing militarization of the fiscal policy of the Western countries. The staunchest and most consistent fighters for detente -- the communist and workers parties -- have most clearly pointed out the catastrophic consequences of militarization in terms of economic and social progress. As Gus Hall, U. S. Communist Party secretary general pointed out, "Our government has largely lost control over the economy. Increased defense expenditures may deal it a final blow, as a result of which the government may lose control altogether."

IV

The negative impact of the policy of antidetente on socioeconomic development is manifested quite clearly in the trade-economic and scientific and technical cooperation between the capitalist countries and the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist comity. The aggressive U. S. imperialist circles consider such cooperation a major obstacle to the implementation of plans for turning international life back to the cold war period. They clearly realize that mutually profitable trade-economic and scientific and technical relations, are a firm material base for processes leading to strengthening trust and weakening tension in relations between countries belonging to different socioeconomic systems. Business cooperation between socialist and capitalist countries broadens the social base of detente, which is in the interest of all social circles -- from working people to capitalist entrepreneurs.

In their attempts to undermine the existing system and the nature of economic relations between socialist and capitalist countries, the supporters of antidetente are sacrificing the economic and social interests of the nations to their selfish plans. However, under the conditions of chronic and increasing economic and social difficulties experienced by many industrially developed capitalist countries, the expansion of trade and economic relations with the socialist market assumes a special role, for it improves marketing conditions, provides jobs and limits the further growth of mass unemployment.

Trade and economic cooperation between the world socialist and capitalist systems is an objective requirement of today's global economic development and a trend which is gaining the upper hand despite the opposition of hostile forces. This is unquestionable. However, it is equally clear that under the conditions of detente this trend is making its way far more rapidly and easily than under the conditions of an artificially encouraged military psychosis and the arms race.

Ever since the socialist society appeared militant materialism has tried to isolate the Soviet Union on the global foreign trade market by using a variety of discriminatory ways and means (economic blockade, penalizing customs, etc.). By the turn of the 1970s, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries had made substantial progress in normalizing economic relations with the capitalist countries. Improved reciprocal understanding and the weakening of international tension helped to expand and strengthen global trade and economic relations. Foreign trade expanded considerably and scientific and technical cooperation was energized.

Following the advent of the global economic crisis of capitalism, which broke out in the middle of the 1970s, and which was not simply cyclical but comprehensive (power, raw material, monetary, structural, etc.), the importance to the capitalist countries of expanding further economic cooperation with the socialist countries increased sharply, for the planned development of the latter's national economies provided guaranteed stable markets and ensured work for many Western enterprises. The practice of long-term orders placed by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, particularly in sectors affected by structural crises (ferrous metallurgy, metal processing, shipbuilding, etc.) proved this convincingly.

Some progress in trade and economic relations between the USSR and the FRG -- its leading Western partner -- was made in 1981. Compared with 1970, the volume of trade between our countries increase by more than tenfold, reaching almost 6 billion rubles. Soviet orders provide jobs to about 500,000 West German working people, said G.-O. Vetter, then chairman of the United German Trade Unions at a press conference held at the end of 1981. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's trip to the FRG opened new opportunities for mutually profitable cooperation by earmarking guidelines which went beyond the 20th century.

As estimated by the Armco Steel Corporation, between 1979 and 1984, in addition to farm goods, American companies could have exported to the USSR goods worth nearly \$15 billion, or the equivalent of between 500,000 and 1 million new jobs in the United States.

Naturally, the development of trade and economic relations between capitalist and socialist countries cannot resolve the employment problem and eliminate the existence of an unemployed labor reserve caused by the law of capitalist accumulations. Still, they can greatly help to ease the life of hundreds of thousands of working people in the United States and Western Europe.

Here is another example. A Soviet-American project for the joint development of natural gas deposits in Western Siberia was drafted at the beginning of the 1970s. According to preliminary estimates, by 1982 this could have met 10 percent of overall U. S. natural gas requirements and created at least 250,000 new jobs. However, after the Congress passed the notorious Jackson-Vanick and Stevenson amendments, which linked the granting of credits and foreign trade guarantees to attempt to exert political influence on the USSR, this project, which was important to the United States and which offered favorable opportunities in the area of energy supplies, was buried.

The experience of the 1970s proved that medium-sized and small companies play an important role in trade and economic relations between the USSR and the capitalist countries. Thus, about 40 percent of all FRG trade with the USSR involves 1,600 medium-sized and small enterprises; 25 small machine-tool building enterprises in France, acting through a single coordinating center, sell most of their output to the Soviet Union. This accounts for one half of the jobs at these enterprises.

Of late the U. S. government has sharply energized its policy of undermining the foundations of economic cooperation between countries with different social systems in an effort to tear up the material fabric of detente. Washington is trying to impose the same adventuristic policy on the Western European countries as well, threatening with sanctions companies and enterprises supplying the USSR with equipment produced under American license.

The purpose of the efforts of the American administration to impose on the Western business world a policy of economic "sanctions," aimed at wrecking trade and economic cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, is meeting with the growing opposition of the ruling circles of many Western European countries, which legitimately consider such efforts harmful to their national economic interests.

Reacting to U. S. attempts to force the Western European countries to refuse to fill orders related to the construction of the Urengoy-Uzhgorod gas pipeline, 10 Common Market countries sent protest notes to Washington, describing such actions an obvious violation of international law. Despite U. S. pressure, France, Italy, Britain and Canada officially declared their resolve to honor contracts related to the construction of the pipeline. The FRG assumed a similar position in this matter.

The policy of rejection of mutually profitable trade and economic cooperation, on which Washington is insisting today more and more energetically, is following a single negative socioeconomic direction. This was particularly pointed out by FRG Minister of Economics Otto Lambsdorff, who emphasized that the West "will pay a price for this both from the viewpoints of turnover and output and employment." Such is the socioeconomic balance of the dilemma "to

trade or not to trade with the socialist countries," a balance which is quite clear to increasingly broader population circles in the capitalist countries.

It was no accident that at the meeting between the leaders of the French Federation of Working People in the Metal Processing and Metallurgical Industries and the British United Trade Union of Machine Building Workers the two trade unions condemned the decision of the U. S. administration to embargo American technology used by the Western European countries in meeting orders related to the natural gas pipeline linking Siberia with Western Europe.

The war waged by Washington against mutually profitable economic cooperation between capitalist and socialist countries is being condemned by the U. S. public as well. The American scientist H. S. Commager recently wrote on this subject that "Trade is a tool for peace and not for war, not even a cold war. It is quite regrettable that our current political leaders are so little familiar with history, foreign policy and economics."

Despite Washington's pressure, mutually profitable cooperation is developing in the international division of labor, entirely consistent with detente.

V

Historical experience convincingly proves that the struggle for detente and mankind's desire for social progress are inseparably interrelated. The intensification of the arms race, hostility and mistrust in international relations most directly harm the rights and interests of the toiling masses. The same prevailed when the forces of fascism and militarism ruled Germany and Japan. Such was also the case during the cold war when, under the guise of an anti-Soviet and antisocialist campaign in the United States, Great Britain, France and other Western countries repressive antilabor legislation was enacted and the communist parties, the class-oriented trade unions and the mass democratic organizations were persecuted. However, in the 1970s the peace-loving public gained positive experience which proved that detente offers favorable opportunities in the struggle for social progress. It was precisely then that thanks to the persistent and systematic efforts of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries the foundations were laid for the development of a European security system, talks were initiated on ending the arms race, fraught with a mortal threat to all mankind, and trade and economic relations between socialist and capitalist countries began to develop quite intensively.

Unfortunately, the beginning of the 1980s showed a sharp increase in the militaristic activities of the ruling U. S. and NATO circles. Under the conditions of the new spiral in the arms race and the inflated war psychosis the socioeconomic problems of the struggle for the preservation of detente become particularly timely. "It is a question," as was noted at the meeting of communist and worker parties of Europe for peace and disarmament, which was held in Paris in the spring of 1980, "of preserving the gains in living standards achieved by the working people in the capitalist countries as a result of a long class struggle. Should American imperialism succeed in dragging Europe into a cold war once again the living standard of the working people will crumble."

The communists are not only cautioning against the tremendous danger to mankind caused by a militaristic fiscal policy of the imperialist countries but are actively struggling against it and calling for the revocation of the "priority of barbarism" and suggesting alternatives. Unlike Reagan's economic program, the U. S. Communist Party has drafted a document calling for a reduction in the defense budget. The French communists are calling for comprehensive support of the UN resolution which calls for a 10 percent reduction in the military expenditures of all permanent members of the Security Council and the elimination of defense priorities in budget policy. "The campaign for peace and detente," the Communist Party of Great Britain noted in the resolution of its 36th congress, "should be energized and conducted on the broadest possible front. It must include the demand for reducing defense expenditures."

The broad public and the members of various parties and trade unions are joining the struggle against the policy of militarization of the budget ever more actively. At the beginning of 1981, 24 social democratic deputies in the German parliament called for a reduction in the defense budget of 1 billion marks and the use of these funds as aid to the developing countries.

The British trade unions are also calling for a reduction in defense expenditures. Their 110th congress passed a resolution instructing the General Council to use all its influence in favor of an international disarmament campaign. "The congress," the resolution read, "realizes that peaceful coexistence is consistent with the interests of Britain and the entire world, and demands that the huge funds wasted on the production of mass destruction weapons be used on projects which would increase employment and eliminate poverty." The World Conference on the Socioeconomic Aspects of Disarmament, which was held in Paris in December 1981, called for an end to the criminal and senseless wasting of financial and material resources on the arms race.

Today the active efforts of the working people in defense of their economic rights and interests, which are being sacrificed to the profits of the arms manufacturers, are interwoven with a decisive struggle against the aggressive imperialist policy aimed at increasing tension, confrontation with the socialist world, and the abandonment of detente. It is no accident that the participants in the mass antiwar movement which has spread in the Western countries are increasingly supporting demands in favor of the socioeconomic imperatives of detente, for the fatal consequences of the arms race policy and war preparations are affecting the situation of many population strata. These consequences are being increasingly felt by blue and white collar workers, farmers and many members of business circles in the capitalist countries. This is one more objective prerequisite for the establishment of a broad antimilitaristic coalition and for the growth of national and international detente movements which will oppose more and more energetically the efforts of the military-industrial monopolies and imperialist governments to lead mankind into the abyss of nuclear catastrophe.

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CONSERVATIVES AND LIBERALS: TWO STRATEGIES FOR THE SALVATION OF CAPITALISM

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[Article by V. Shemyatenkov, doctor of economic sciences]

[Text] During the relatively short period of its rule the current U. S. administration has managed to acquire a reputation in the eyes of world and American public opinion as "the most inefficient U. S. government of the 20th century." It would be difficult to disagree with this view if efficiency means making a real contribution to the solution of the vital problems of domestic and foreign policy, consistent with ripe social requirements.

The U. S. administration has assumed a heavy responsibility for the aggravation of international tension. The adventuristic actions of the American leadership unwittingly bring to mind the unfortunate individual familiar in diplomatic history who, in the words of a contemporary, "wanted to fan the flames of a world war to fry himself some eggs." It is clear that such actions in the international arena are not isolated from the administration's domestic policy line, equally a target of rather grave charges.

What lies behind this dangerous course? Is it a matter, as is sometimes claimed, of the "incompetence" or some other traits of the 40th President of the United States? "Our President," recently wrote the influential BALTIMORE SUN, "is unquestionably a dear. But it is not he who runs the country." Reagan's rhetoric and politics are no more than the expression of the strategic line followed by some forces within the ruling class. The so-called Reaganomics was chosen as the ideological and political flag of their chosen course, which is essentially the bourgeois conservatism of the 1980s and which has the upper hand over bourgeois-liberal concepts and is the product of the acute bourgeois crisis.

Naturally, this "change of flags" was paralleled by major changes in the ratio of class forces domestically and internationally as well as within the ruling class itself. As V. I. Lenin wrote, "In all countries the bourgeoisie invariably develops two systems of management, two methods in the struggle for its interests and the preservation of its rule.... They are, first, the method of coercion, of refusal to make any kind of concessions to the labor movement, the method of supporting all the old and obsolete institutions....

The second method is that of 'liberalism,' of steps toward the development of political rights, reform, concessions, etc." ("Poln. Sobr. soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 20, p 67).

It is hardly a matter of indifference to the labor movement as to which one of these methods will be chosen and its durability in imperialist policy and ideology. In order to understand these trends the assessment of the "conceptual potential" of rivaling trends in bourgeois ideology is as important as understanding the dynamics of the real contradictions within capitalism and the course of the class struggle.

The essential difference between conservatism and liberalism lies mainly in their differing assessments of the internal forces and possibilities of capitalism.

The conservative current embodies the "pious wish to consider the bourgeois world as the best of all possible worlds" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 25, part II, p 413), traditional in vulgar political economy. The conservative ideologues keep fabricating proofs of capitalism's "optimality" as a self-regulating economic system and the "naturalness" and "justice" of bourgeois social relations.

However, the ruling class in the capitalist world does not consist exclusively of social "beauticians" who artfully conceal the permanent distortions and incurable ills of the last exploiting system. Equally generously paid are the services of those who, while exposing one capitalist fault or another, submit cures which may be effective even if temporarily. Up to a point such efforts are comprehensively encouraged as a necessary social preventive action.

The main class function of bourgeois-liberal reformism is to offer "knowledgeable" criticism of particulars in order to rescue the total. By admitting to one degree or another the faults of the capitalist production method, the liberals believe that it can be saved only with the help of active government intervention and social maneuvering. The objectivistic-critical approach adopted by contemporary liberalism to the problems of the bourgeois society is the product of tremendous bourgeois historical experience. This approach, which was developed in the course of the long fight for survival, is one of the main levers used to strengthen the capitalist order.

It may appear that the deeper the general crisis of capitalism becomes the more the ruling class will resort to this tried means of ideological deception of the masses. However, it has long been known that the historical process does not follow a straight line: the present drastic aggravation of capitalist contradictions and the intensification of the class struggle are accompanied by a sharp decline of bourgeois liberalism and the collapse of the thoroughly formulated liberal theoretical concepts of political economy, which only yesterday were proclaimed inviolable dogmas.

In order to understand the origins of the present crisis in bourgeois liberalism we must go back several decades to the time of its "great insights," related mainly to the appearance of Keynesianism.

J. M. Keynes, regarded by Lenin as a "notorious bourgeois and merciless enemy of bolshevism" (op. cit., vol 41, p 219) clearly saw the imperfection of the capitalist system. In his view, capitalism had a tendency to stagnate, which invariably led to a catastrophic aggravation of social contradictions. The class meaning of his theories and practical recommendations was to protect the capitalist system from the threat of a revolutionary explosion with the help of a thoroughly thought-out state policy.

Keynes' views on the nature of capitalism contained both conservative and liberal elements. In the subsequent evolution of Keynesian concepts in bourgeois political economy one or the other assumed priority, depending on developments within the capitalist economy.

During the 1940s-1960s -- a period of relatively favorable circumstances -- the sociocritical aspect of Keynesianism was neglected. The so-called Neokeynsians were engaged mainly in developing the techniques of state control and the elaboration of formalized economic growth models. Their views became the official political-economic doctrine and the basis of the economic policy of the leading capitalist countries. Having determined some of the reasons for the economic crises under capitalism with empirical accuracy, the Keynesians developed a system of measures of anticyclical regulation and stimulation of economic growth which, while not eliminating the basic reasons for economic crises, were able to ease them somewhat and to help increases in output.

Whereas Keynesianism performed an essentially practical economic function, the second major branch of bourgeois liberalism -- the so-called institutionalism -- was engaged mainly in resolving ideological problems related to ensuring "class cooperation."

In the course of time the reduction of the object of economics to the technical and economic "laws" of optimal allocation of scarce resources, dictated by the interest of supporting capitalism, and functional interrelationships in economics sharply clashed with reality, which was saturated with extremely grave class conflicts.

This precisely, was the reason for the appearance of institutionalism. It was adopted by bourgeois-liberal thinking as a safety valve, so that it could react to the most obvious crying manifestations of capitalist contradictions. Many works were written within the framework of institutionalized-sociological thinking, which made a critical study of bourgeois "institutions" and "conflicts." At the same time, institutionalism was and remains a kind of laboratory in which the "unorthodox" supportive concepts which the liberal bourgeoisie has actively used in the ideological struggle are synthesized.

The main among them are the concepts of the social transformation of capitalism. Their roots may be traced to some objective socioeconomic processes of our time, related to the development of state-monopoly capitalism and the scientific and technical revolution, such as:

Major changes in the nature of production forces;

Changes in the social structure as a whole and the structure of the working class in particular, the faster increase in the number of people engaged in nonproduction work and the size of engineering and technical personnel and white-collar workers;

Further intensification of contradictions between capitalism as ownership and capitalism as function and, in particular, the increased role of managers, scientists and engineers in managing the capitalist economy, the extensive use of the various means of mobilizing population monetary funds with a view to capitalist accumulations, including the sale of stocks, the creation of various foundations for worker "participation" in enterprise ownership, etc.;

Fast growth of the state sector and state active interference in the economy;

Changes in the structure of individual consumption by the working people in connection with the increased share of durable goods and services.

In identifying such objective changes, the bourgeois theoreticians depicted their social consequences in a hypertrophied and distorted manner. They tried to present matters as though in themselves these changes represented radical changes in the socioeconomic nature of capitalism and opened some sort of new historical possibilities to its advantage. We know that during the postwar years they intensively deleted the very term "capitalism" from the political and propaganda vocabulary.

The period of crisis in the 1970s became a turning point in the development of the Keynesian and institutionalized directions in bourgeois political economy. Inflation and production stagnation, aggravation of social contradictions and extensive development of strikes and the aggravation of imperialist contradictions, added to other phenomena which shook up bourgeois society to its foundations, were noteworthy not only because of their unprecedented scale but their unparalleled depth and durability. The long-ripening bankruptcy of Keynesian prescriptions for economic control and the hypocrisy of the institutionalized "criticism" of capitalism were manifested particularly strongly during that period.

Keynesian economic policy crumbled under the weight of its own internal contradictions. Whereas with one hand the bourgeois state poured funds into encouraging "effective demand," with the other it dipped into the pockets of the taxpayers, thus reducing that same "effective demand." This contradiction was resolved with the help of chronic budget deficits and increased national indebtedness. Financing it became one of the main sources of inflation and permanent overstress afflicting the crediting system. The capitalist economy turned out to be "surfeited" with anticrisis instruments which, in the final account, broke down.

The crises of the 1970s hit hard the institutional concepts of "capitalist transformation" as well. The drastic aggravation of socioeconomic conflicts confirmed yet once again most clearly the groundlessness of the once fashionable theories of "people's capitalism," "state of universal prosperity" and "mass consumption society." The positions of the supporters of technological determinism proved to be substantially undermined as well.

The difficulties which were encountered by capitalism, as was noted at the 26th CPSU Congress, are influencing its policies as well and are manifested also in the ideological sphere. Guided by entirely opposite interests, both the "bottoms" and the "tops" of capitalist society share the aspiration to find the reasons for such a deep and insoluble crisis. This faces the ruling circles of the capitalist countries with the need to seek new ways to preserve the viability of capitalism and to develop new ideological schemes which would justify it in the eyes of the popular masses.

Naturally, bourgeois political economy cannot ignore this "social order." Recent developments in bourgeois social science are not restricted to the framework of its usual periodical "fashion changes." It is a question of revising some basic theoretical concepts and principles of economic policy of the bourgeois states. The deployment of forces within bourgeois political economy itself is changing. New or updated schools of thought and trends are reaching the proscenium and are beginning to have a tangible influence on political practices. In a certain sense we can speak of changes in the overall aspect of bourgeois political economy, for the representatives of all of its trends are now forced to deal with the burning problems of our time, problems of the socioeconomic nature of capitalism, and to formulate new means for its salvation. Once again the word "capitalism" is considered unfashionable.

"...The development of political economy," Marx pointed out, "is in step with the real development of social contradictions and class battles inherent in capitalist production" (op. cit., vol 26, part II, p 526). Therefore, in the course of the current "reideologization" of bourgeois political economy the process of its ideological and political differentiation and the struggle among the various trends and schools of thought, which reflects the real differences in the positions of the large ideological and political groups of the contemporary monopoly and nonmonopoly bourgeoisie and the other nonproletarian social forces in the capitalist countries, is intensifying.

The tempestuous growth of the influence of the so-called new conservatism has become the most vivid manifestation of this process.

The relatively high pace of economic growth which was achieved during the first postwar decades, the moderate scale of unemployment, the absence of any significant crises in Western Europe and the slight and relatively short production declines in the United States, compared with the past, were the result of a number of objective and, as subsequent developments proved, transient reasons. They were widely used by the bourgeois liberal ideologues as propaganda of the theoretical discoveries made by Keynes and his followers and advertised as proof of the effectiveness of Keynesian economic policy. Although the antithesis--the concept of a "free market economy"--had always coexisted with Keynesianism, with few exceptions such concepts had no extensive and effective influence. The naive observer may have gained the impression that conservatism had taken a back seat in bourgeois social thinking.

Actually, the situation was not so simple. The paradox was that the internally conflicting although lengthy upsurge in the 1940s-1960s was also eroding the initial postulate of Keynes' theory -- the fact that left to its

own devices, the capitalist economy tends to stagnate. It was precisely this that created the objective conditions for the rebirth of the conservative trend in bourgeois political economy, its neoclassical variety above all..

The neoclassical "counteroffensive" mounted against the bourgeois liberal concepts began with a peripheral isolated problem in capitalist political economy -- the theory of money (the so-called Chicago School). The neoclassical positions strengthened with the appearance of the neoclassical theory of growth in the first half of the 1960s. Keynesianism was challenged in its own "preserve:" In the areas of macroeconomics and the economic policies of the bourgeois state.

The crises of the 1970s shifted the arguments and conflicts among the supporters of the various directions in bourgeois political economy to the level of discussions on the nature of capitalism itself. The modern conservatives are revising, at least in words, the concepts which had totally dominated bourgeois science, politics and economics for many decades, and are actually questioning the very foundations of state-monopoly capitalism.

Unlike the neoclassicists of the 1960s, who expressed their credo in the Aesopian language of "pure theory," the contemporary conservatives expressed themselves quite clearly and ever bluntly. Intellectually, their views are a clear step backwards compared with the "enlightened" and thoroughly worked out bourgeois liberal concepts. Whereas liberalism is a bourgeois ideology not alien to the ideas of progress and is ready to maneuver and to adapt, conservatism in its extreme manifestations is the "cry of the heart" of the angry bourgeois, who has lost faith in his state, unwilling or unable to understand the changes taking place in the world. Its simplistic forms merely emphasize the reactionary internal contradictoriness of modern conservatism. Its ideas and reality are in a state of acute and irreconcilable conflict.

Contemporary conservatism is an amorphous and chaotic pile of all sorts of concepts and views, from abstract messianic sermons to strictly pragmatic considerations of a military-police nature. Some conservative ideologues and scientific centers, such as the Hoover Institution of War, Revolution and Peace, the Georgetown University Center for Strategic and International Studies, the Institute of Contemporary Studies, the Heritage Foundation, the Foreign Policy Institute and others, sharply compete among each other and, naturally, are far from being unanimous. Nevertheless, the new conservatives share a number of fundamental ideas which predetermine their common positions in the politics and ideology of contemporary imperialism regardless of individual differences.

Bourgeois individualism, which proceeds from the fact that man, as the sole master of his destiny, has the right to do with it as he wishes, providing that he does not interfere by force with someone else's life, is the basis of conservative concepts. The conservatives consider ideal the type of social system which allows the full realization of individual efforts, for it is the individual himself who knows better than anyone else what his own needs are and also, to a certain extent, because he is likely to be more concerned with them than others.

However, the essence of modern conservatism lies not in the simple praise of individualism but in the rude apologetic claim that it is precisely capitalism that is consistent with the eternal and natural features of man, for which reason it is an ideal social system. "Real" or "competitive" capitalism is pitted not only against socialism and planned economic management (as most bourgeois liberals do), but also against the monopolies and the "government," in all of its hypostases.

Conservatism is the real cult of the right to private ownership and the elements of the marketplace. Competition is presented as the best possible form of relations among people, allegedly ensuring the highest possible production efficiency and even total social justice, providing that the forces of the marketplace are not restrained by the "government" or the "bureaucracy." According to F. Hayek, the patriarch of modern conservatism, "All ideas which have gained increasing acceptance in the 20th century, such as a planned economy with equitable distribution, freedom from suppressed desires and traditional morality and education in the spirit of total permissiveness as the road to freedom and the replacement of the coercive mechanism with the marketplace, are all based on prejudice..." (F. Hayek, "Law, Legislation and Liberty." Vol 3. "The Political Order of a Free People," London, 1979, p 176). According to the conservatives even political decisions and moral norms must be based on the ratio between "supply" and "demand" on the respective "markets."

We are essentially witnessing a paradoxical phenomenon in which the ideologues of the old overripe capitalism plunge into recollections of their distant and irrevocably lost childhood. For it is precisely "free competition," as F. Engels noted in his time, "that tolerates no restrictions or state control. The entire state is a burden to it and it would prefer best of all the total absence of statehood" (op. cit., vol 2, p 498).

The modern conservatives refuse to realize that today's real capitalism is state-monopoly capitalism, structured in a way entirely different from the way the supporters of the concept of an idealized "marketplace economy" depict it. It has insoluble internal contradictions which inevitably trigger social inequality, militarism and monopoly rule, oppression of most peoples on earth by a handful of imperialist countries, tremendous losses caused by crises, unemployment, underloading of productive capital and parasitical consumption by the bourgeoisie.

Naturally, the pseudoscientific theoretical concepts of the neoconservatives lead to double-dyed reactionary sociopolitical conclusions. In their view, the capitalist system can automatically ensure social justice and political stability providing that it is not being interfered with by liberals in the government. The corporations must do business without burdening themselves with considerations of social responsibility. Workers and employees must be satisfied with their wages. The poor must be paid off with the help of a negative income tax. As to revolutions, they are considered either as the result of weak leadership or the conscious making of liberal politicians. If this is understood, eliminating the very problem of revolutions would present no particular difficulty.

The conservatives justify social inequality by referring to its biologically determined inevitability. They equally oppose even the limited rights which the bourgeois society grants the working people. They describe bourgeois democracy as "moral cannibalism," for an allegedly untalented and lazy majority is robbing the talented industrious minority. They say that no state policy can change the "fundamental fact" that since most ancient times people have been classified into "superior," "average" and "low."

Some modern conservatives openly call for "demarchy" (i.e., a type of symbiosis between democracy and monarchy), or a corporate fascist state. In this case the cult of unlimited freedom of the individual is carried to its logical end -- support of open dictatorship by the financial oligarchy.

The new conservatives call for a revision of U. S. foreign-policy strategy. They see the "subversive activities" of the communists, headed by the Soviet Union as the roots of all adverse trends in the international arena. They call for the resurrection of the already long bankrupt concepts of "containment" and "throwing back" of communism and for pursuing an openly imperialist and aggressive course.

In their view, military superiority is the only means which would enable the United States to build its world-wide empire -- Pax Americana -- regardless of whether other countries want it or not. The most diehard among the conservatives call for immediately breaking off diplomatic and other relations with the "communist countries," total revision of the "economic assistance" program, granting aid only to "friendly" countries and obtaining guarantees from the UN and other international bodies to the effect that not one cent of American contributions will fall into the hands of "America's enemies."

In the light of historical experience and the irrepressible growth of world socialism and the international liberation movement in today's world, the appeals of the "pure" conservatives sound like a shaman's incantations. One could have ignored them had they not serve as the basis for the formulation of political action programs by the reactionary monopoly bourgeoisie.

Naturally, there is a line separating the loud troubadours of the new conservatism, used mainly for vulgar propaganda purposes, and the "serious" conservative politicians, such as Reagan and Thatcher, who must take the realities of our time into consideration. The latter are working not for the dismantling or radical breakdown of the huge state control machinery but for its specific restructuring and reorientation.

On the surface, the socioeconomic program of the conservatives in power resembles a fabric woven out of contradictions. Although their objective is to increase output they are unwilling to hire additional manpower and thus to lower unemployment. While relying on "free enterprise," they suppress it with the help of inconceivably high interest rates. While anathemizing "big government" because of its wastefulness, they immoderately inflate military appropriations -- the main item in governmental expenditures. While promoting free competition, they pursue a frankly protectionist foreign economic policy. The question that unwittingly arises is can any sort of rational sense be made in this selection of mutually exclusive words and actions?

The careful study of Reaganomics (as Reagan's administration's economic policy is semi-scornfully described) indicates that its sense is entirely clear -- it is frankly class oriented. Reaganomics is a policy by the rich for the rich. Its objective is the maximal strengthening of the positions of U. S. big monopoly capital from three basic sources:

Mobilization of capitalist reserves which, in the belief of the conservatives, the Keynesians have either failed or been unable to see;

Increased exploitation of their own working class and other groups of working people;

Strengthening the positions of the United States in the fierce competitive struggle against the other capitalist countries.

The most controversial and weak link in Reaganomics is the line of using the reserve possibilities of capitalism. In this area the conservatives are clearly not shining with inventiveness. They consider the abolishment of the cunning and, in their view, unnecessary system of encouraging "effective demand" as the main possibility. If income taxes are lowered and the money is refunded to those who "make" it, i.e., to the entrepreneurs, the result would be a healthy and powerful economic upswing which will help resolve all the other problems afflicting the American economy. This is the basis of Reagan's and his economic advisers' estimates. Their assumption is that the money refunded by the government will mandatorily turn into additional savings. These savings will turn mainly into production investments and increased production will reduce unemployment (once again "naturally" rather than "as imposed by the state"). Increased supply will automatically trigger increased demand -- a healthy rather than artificial demand created by "state philanthropy." In the final account, all of this should lead to such a fast growth of the national income that the initial absolute drop in state revenue caused by reduced taxation will be more than compensated for as a result of increased taxable income. It was precisely on this effect that the Reagan administration relied not only in order to finance a huge program for the "rearming of America" but to lower the national debt as well.

The supreme objective of Keynesianism was the struggle against crises and stagnation and the stimulation of economic growth at all cost, even including "controlled inflation." The conservatives focus on the struggle against inflation and support a "healthy" noninflationary production growth. Whereas the Keynesians deemed it necessary to influence the material production structure, although indirectly, the conservatives, guided by the rules of so-called monetarism, deem it sufficient to purposefully influence monetary circulation, while the rest will be automatically accomplished by the "free market." They assume that if a steady long-range increase in the money supply (approximately 3-4 percent per year) can be achieved, private capitalist enterprise will respond to this incentive with a corresponding expansion of investments and output. This will resolve the problem of crises as well, for the monetarist theoreticians believe that it is caused exclusively by the disparity between the money supply and demand.

Whereas Keynesianism was a policy of artificial upsurge, monetarism, particularly given the specific circumstances of the present and regardless of whatever the conservatives may be saying, is a policy of artificial crisis. However, whereas a real crisis is a means for the coerced resolution of capitalist contradictions and a prerequisite for animation and upsurge, the artificial crisis caused by the monetarist policy is merely a means for the intensification of the real crisis and for delaying and weakening the processes of economic animation and upsurge.

The almost 2 years of practical efforts on the part of the Reagan administration and earlier monetarist experiments in England, Chile and many other capitalist countries have proved quite clearly the groundlessness of hopes of awakening the allegedly still slumbering hidden vital forces of capitalism.

The hope that lowering the tax rates would have a stimulating effect failed. The U. S. economy has remained in the clutches of an unusually prolonged crisis since 1980. Consequently, the Reagan administration has not only been unable to stabilize the national budget but has had to resort to a further increase in deficits and the national debt. It was precisely Reagan who had the dubious honor of sanctioning the breaking of the trillion dollar mark of the national debt.

The measures taken to limit the monetary supply became an additional factor in the intensification of the crisis. Production declines notwithstanding, interest rates in the United States have maintained record levels. The expected increases in savings and "healthy" automatic credit availability did not occur, while unemployment reached its highest since the "great depression" (more than 10 million unemployed according to official statistics and about 18 million according to unofficial data).

The reduced rate of growth of inflation has been the only real "achievement" of the Reagan administration. However, it was the economic crisis which played the main role in this case rather than the government's policy. Reaganomics stopped price increases to the extent to which it contributed to the aggravation of the crisis.

Two other lines pursued in Reaganomics proved to be more effective -- the offensive mounted against the rights of the working people and the strengthening of U. S. competitive positions in the global capitalist economy.

For more than half a century no other U. S. government has pursued such an open antilabor policy. The "economic" axe fell first of all on the social areas of the budget: aid to the poorest population strata, expenditures for education, jobs, health care, urban renewal, etc. Whereas the Keynesians, guided by an "enlightened" philosophy of class cooperation, tried to provide "full employment" even in its limited bourgeois interpretation, the conservatives are openly using the whip of unemployment in harming the vital rights of the working people. This precisely is the real meaning of the neoclassical concept of the so-called "natural" level of unemployment, which can be lowered allegedly only by lowering real wages.

The results of this onslaught on the vital rights of the working people were not long in coming. Another 2 million people crossed the official poverty line in 1981. The American working class is facing the threat of a further decline in its living standard. Thus, a new collective labor contract was concluded on 1 March 1982 between the Ford Motor Company and the UAW in which, for the first time in the history of the union, worse wages compared with previous years were agreed upon. A similar agreement is expected to be concluded with General Motors as well.

Reaganomics hit small and medium entrepreneurs hard, and resulted in the bankruptcy of many large companies. A record was set in 1981 in the number of mergers and the absorption of previously independent companies by the giants of financial capital. It was precisely they that, in the final account, benefited from the "new economic policy" of the Reagan administration and were strengthened and consolidated in the course of the crisis.

A similar situation prevails in the foreign economic area as well.

One of the main objectives of the American conservatives is to stop and turn back the process of the weakening of political and economic influence of the United States in the capitalist world.

The U. S. share in the industrial output of the capitalist countries was 50 percent in 1950; it had dropped to 34 percent at the beginning of the 1980s and its share in global capitalist exports had declined from 27.3 to 17.1 percent.

Whereas previous administrations tolerated this process, considering it the inevitable consequence of the "multipolarity" of the capitalist world, from its very beginning the Reagan administration zealously undertook to restore the "leading role" of the United States.

High interest rates in the United States became an efficient tool in suppressing foreign competition. They offered a powerful incentive for the influx of foreign capital. In order to neutralize this adverse trend, the governments of the other capitalist countries, those of Western Europe above all, were forced substantially to raise their own interest rates. Credit difficulties virtually wrecked any possible production upswing. The same purpose -- weakening the positions of the competition -- is served by the one-sided protectionist measures taken by the American government, the increased exchange rate of the dollar and twisting the arm of governments of allied countries with a view to forcing them to increase their military expenditures and to abandon profitable trade and economic relations with the socialist world.

We believe that regardless of their "philosophy" today's American leaders nevertheless realize that pressure and blackmail applied on the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries will not yield desired results. The dangerous course of political and economic destabilizing of the international situation actually serves mainly the purpose of restoring U. S. supremacy in the nonsocialist world. As has frequently been the case in the past, the scourge of anticommunism and military hysteria, which are concealing like a fig leaf the self-seeking interests of American monopoly capital, are a means

of "keeping in line" the industrially developed capitalist countries and increasing the exploitation and domination of the developing countries.

The foreign economic program of the Reagan administration provides unquestionable advantages to precisely the forces which brought it to power. However, Washington is playing the game of diminishing sums: The more the American monopolies benefit, the greater the losses of the global capitalist system as a whole. As in other areas, here conservative politics are generously planting the seeds of future crises and conflicts.

The absurdities of Reaganism offer favorable grounds for bourgeois-liberal criticism. Liberalism itself however, is in a state of clear political and ideological disorder.

In his comment on the U. S. Democratic Party 1982 Philadelphia conference, D. Brinkley, the noted American television commentator, justifiably pointed out that "While accusing Reagan of anything they can think of, the democrats say nothing specific about what they would do in his place. As politicians, the democrats know that as long as they formulate vaguely enticing promises no one will oppose them. People begin to be upset only when they deal in specifics and the democrats are avoiding specifics. They bravely speak out in favor of peace, prosperity, jobs and two apple pies in every kitchen without saying how this is to be done."

This is no accident. The liberals lack the necessary stock of basic ideas with which to offer a specific political alternative to Reaganism. The simple return to Keynesianism and institutionalism is out of the question, while the process of elaboration of new major bourgeois liberal concepts is only at its initial stage.

What are the likely prospects in the confrontation between the conservative and liberal trends in bourgeois social thinking and in imperialist policy and ideology? Metaphorically speaking, liberalism is a strategy of treating capitalism with the help of foreign medicine alien to its nature -- means of a collectivistic nature -- which become inevitably distorted in a society which remains essentially individualistic. This precisely is the base of the conservative criticism of bourgeois liberalism. The conservatives direct the attention to the fact that in the final account bourgeois reformist policy undermines the foundations of capitalism -- individualism, marketplace competition and private enterprise. They appeal to the capitalist West to reject this medicine and engage in a kind of social toughening.

It can be confidently predicted that the belated appeal of the conservatives and the policy based on conservative principles are both doomed. Decrepit capitalism is no longer able to function without propping, and the currently noted conservative "renaissance" has no historical chance. The rosy prospects depicted by its ideologues are a mirage, a stage setting rather than real life.

From the viewpoint of the international working class, both conservatism and liberalism are deeply reactionary, antipeople and hostile to the interests of social progress. Conservatism is an extreme expression of the historical

lack of future of capitalism, the nonviability of its spiritual values and the antihumane nature of imperialist policy. Liberalism is trickier and more refined and the exposure and neutralizing of its influence is far more difficult. Furthermore, in terms of its ideological directions the new conservatism leans toward neofascism and even comes closer to it and has a broader and more influential class base. It embodies the militant adventurism of the most reactionary segment of the monopoly bourgeoisie and it is not excluded that under certain conditions its supporters may decide to commit nuclear suicide, dragging along into the precipice dozens of millions of people.

Hostile to the cause of peace, freedom and progress, the policy of the conservative governments is triggering the growing opposition of the popular masses. Through personal experience the working people are realizing that conservatism is a policy of aggression and arms race, economic crisis and an onslaught against their vital rights. Millions of people are taking to the streets joining the ranks of antiwar marches and political demonstrations and participating in strikes and other protest actions.

The peoples demand peace, detente, jobs, bread and restraining the greedy interests of monopoly capital, which lead mankind to the brink of catastrophe. The policy makers in the imperialist states -- "conservatives" and "liberals" both -- must heed their voice.

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MOST IMPORTANT INSTRUMENT OF PARTY LEADERSHIP

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 82 pp 114-121

[Unattributed book review: "Moscow Important Instrument of Party Leadership" carried in "Criticism and Bibliography" section of journal]

[Text] The concept of developed socialism elaborated by our party is a reliable theoretical and methodological basis for determining the CPSU's strategy and tactics for a long historical period and the main line in its ideological and organizational work.

The scale of the party's political activity increases immeasurably under the conditions of mature socialism. At the same time its leading role increases and deepens. This process is interdependent. As the 26th party congress stressed, it comprehensively reflects the objective need for further progress of the socialist society.

K.U. Chernenko's book "Questions of the Work of the Party and State Apparatus"* is devoted to the steady increase in the Communist Party's leading role under present conditions and to its further strengthening as the nucleus of our entire political system.

The author closely associates the process of the increase in the party's leading role with questions of improving the work of the party and state apparatus as the necessary link connecting party and state organs with Communists and all the working people and as an extremely important instrument of the correct leadership of society's affairs. The book uses many illustrations from the practice of party and state work to cogently show the process of the increase in the party's leading role. This process is largely implemented through the development of intraparty democracy and the involvement of broad strata of the population in active social life and the management of state affairs. The complex and multifaceted process of the making, formation and improvement of the party and state apparatus is profoundly revealed in its close connection with the history of our party and the Soviet state and with the objective laws of

* K.U. Chernenko, "Questions of the Work of the Party and State Apparatus," second edition, revised and enlarged, Moscow, Political Literature Publishing House, 1982, 448 pages.

the socialist system's development. It should be emphasized that the most important aspects of this process are examined via the style, forms and methods of the party and state apparatus' activity to implement in practice specific tasks of our society's political, economic, social and cultural development.

The Leninist work style is the pivotal theme of the book, and it is no accident that the section entitled "Improving the Party and State Apparatus and the Style of Its Activity Under Conditions of Developed Socialism" carries the main load in the new edition. The author describes the Leninist style as a complex of extremely important and constantly developing forms and methods of party and state activity based on the theories of scientific communism and Leninist principles of party and state leadership. The Leninist style, the book emphasizes, is a powerful weapon in the struggle for the revolutionary transformation of society and the guarantee of successes in all the party's organizational and political activity.

The basis of the expansion and strengthening of the party's leading role in the period of developed socialism and of the improvement in the style of its activity is the constant close link with the working people's masses and with the entire Soviet people. This link enables the party to be aware of and to understand the masses' interests and sentiment, to study their experience and to learn from them, using all this in work to mobilize the working people to successfully fulfill the tasks set by the party. V.I. Lenin wrote: "In order to serve the masses and express their correctly realized interests, the leading detachment, the organization, must carry out all its activity among the masses, recruiting from them all the best forces without exception and checking carefully and objectively at every step whether the link with the masses is being maintained and whether it is a living link" ("Complete Collected Works," vol 24, p 37).

Those theses of Lenin are still the main reference point for our party in the complex and diverse process of molding social relations under conditions of widespread communist building. The book pays great attention to questions of developing, deepening and improving the links of the party, the state and their apparatus with the masses.

The author emphasizes that our party is connected via many channels to people's concerns and thoughts. The living current of thought flows from the party to the masses and from the masses to the party via these channels. It can be said with every justification: The party has a good sense of the pulse of the people's life. Thanks to this constant two-way link the CPSU's policy embodies the experience and intellect of truly the whole people. It is essentially the total accumulated experience of all the Communists and nonparty people and the result of the practice of millions. This experience is translated into the language of a policy that is entirely in line with the interests of the whole people, the serving of whom the CPSU sees as the point of its activity (see p 365).

Confirmation of that is provided by our party's entire policy, which is based on concern for the people's needs and on lofty responsibility to them. The link with the masses is a great and enduring asset of the party, which regards the process of strengthening unity with the people as a constantly developing

phenomenon that brooks no stagnation. The party seeks to constantly renew its links with the masses and to make them "superconductive," so to speak, and to react sensitively to changes and new phenomena arising in society. Its entire political activity--practical and theoretical, organizational and ideological educational--is aimed at deepening the links with the masses and further rallying the Soviet people around their communist vanguard.

The party's leading role, enshrined in the USSR Constitution, is organically connected with the all-around development of all components of the Soviet political system. It is a subject of constant concern on the part of our party to promote the development of mass independent [samodeyatelnyy] organizations. It seems enhancing the role of the soviets, trade unions, Komsomol and other public organizations as a source of its ties with the masses and as one of the most important conditions of society's stable political development. The more actively these organizations operate, the firmer the guarantee that the party will influence the broad working people's masses via them.

In implementing leadership of the soviets, trade unions, Komsomol and cooperative and other public organizations, the author stresses, the party does not supplant them, does not interfere in their internal affairs and does not impose its own decisions, but carries out its line chiefly via the Communists working in those organizations. The party formulates their scientifically substantiated political course, fundamental tasks and directions of activity; selects, places, trains and educates the leading cadres; systematically monitors their implementation of the party line; studies, generalizes and disseminates the best experience of their work; and enhances the vanguard role of Communists working in mass organizations (see p 200).

Among the constantly improving means, forms and methods ensuring an unbreakable link with the masses the party singles out work with letters from the population. Life itself and everyday practice shows that working people's letters and proposals help party and state organs to better orient themselves in the situation, to assess more objectively the work of particular management components, of the entire apparatus and of specific personnel in it, to perceive more clearly shortcomings and ways of eliminating them, and to formulate correct political decisions in line with the CPSU's Leninist course. The book emphasizes that letters are one of the most confiding and therefore especially valuable sources of information about the demands and aspirations of urban and rural working people and about the situation in various spheres of our society's socio-economic, political and spiritual life and one means of implementing Soviet citizens' constitutional rights. The author uses specific examples to show conclusively the way in which the authority of letters has increased in recent years and the attention that party and state organs and the management apparatus pay to them. Thus at the CPSU Central Committee, work to examine letters and to analyze and generalize the questions raised in them is conducted in unbreakable connection with the resolution of current and long-term tasks of economic, social and cultural building.

Many of the proposals voiced by letterwriters are used in preparing party and state decisions and are taken into account in everyday practical work. The practice of work with letters at local level has been immeasurably enriched.

Party organs seek to ensure that the public and broad circles of the population are systematically informed of the measures taken on the basis of letters. This is promoted, in particular, by the periodical reports by local soviet ispolkoms and briefings by enterprises, institution and organization leaders on the examination of proposals, statements and complaints and on the problems on which the management organs are working. Trips by raykom, gorkom, obkom and ispolkom leaders to plants, construction projects, kolkhozes and sovkhoses in order to investigate statements on the spot and speeches by leaders in the press, on television and radio and at collective meetings on questions that working people touch on in their messages have proved to be very useful.

Of course, all this does not mean that work with letters has been properly straightened out everywhere. Cases of a formalistic bureaucratic attitude toward them and of red tape in examining them and instances of the suppression of criticism and the persecution of writers, which is especially intolerable, are still encountered.

It sometimes happens, K.U. Chernenko writes, that a person with a just request or complaint makes repeated appeals to various bodies, all to no avail. At last, at some stage the question is positively resolved and "closed," as the saying goes. Is this correct? What punishment is suffered by those who failed to resolve it in a timely fashion and forced the person to trail around various institutions in the role of suppliant and to waste time and nervous energy?

Party committees and their apparatus must always be equal to work with letters. Each instance of an insensitive, formalistic attitude on the part of a leader toward letters and statements must be the subject of condemnation. The immutability of the constitutional guarantee of the Soviet people's rights will thus be all the clearer. The maturity, reliability, decency and sensitivity of a worker in the party or state apparatus are tested by the way he reacts to a letter or a verbal request, the book notes.

The process of further improving democracy and expanding and deepening the ties of the party and its apparatus with the masses are closely linked in the book to the enhancement of the role of monitoring and verification of the execution of the decisions that are taken. A formulation of the question in which monitoring is regarded as an organic component part of all organizational activity, not as an exclusively isolated, narrowly departmental, technical matter, characterizes the author's approach to this important sector of party and state work.

"We need to check the suitability of people, to check actual execution," Lenin said ("Complete Collected Works," vol 45, p 16). Such is Lenin's exceptionally clear-cut demand. It is important to emphasize here that monitoring and the verification of actual execution are not only the party organ's right, but also a very important essential duty and an integral element in the organization of matters.

During the period of mature socialism monitoring and verification of execution have in fact become one of the most effective means of implementing the party's policy, educating cadres and further developing socialist democracy. It can be said with complete justification that today the state of monitoring is the

yardstick of the efficiency and quality of the work of party committees, their apparatus and all our cadres. That is also said in the CPSU Central Committee resolution on questions of further improving monitoring adopted soon after the 26th party congress.

Basing himself on convincing examples from the practice of party work, the author regards as a noteworthy phenomenon in life today the persistent attempts by party committees to organically combine monitoring with direct organizational work to fulfill the resolutions that are adopted. Party committees often send teams or groups of personnel headed by secretaries and bureau members out to the localities in order to provide practical assistance. In many party organizations it is the rule as early as during the preparation of plenums or bureau sessions to acquaint the party aktiv with the results of the checks and with the omissions that have been revealed and to help organize matters and eliminate the shortcomings on the spot. During report and election campaigns some party committees practice the preliminary discussion of their reports in primary party organizations. This produces positive results since Communists have an additional opportunity to make a comprehensive assessment of the activity of their leading organ.

At the same time, the book emphasizes, the verification of execution is still a bottleneck in the work of a considerable number of party organizations. The remark that Comrade L.I. Brezhnev made at the 26th party congress rings out with special force in this connection: "Unfortunately not everyone has yet grasped the simple truth that the art of leadership does not consist in producing directive-style instructions about everything and squandering them. When a decision has been adopted, its strict fulfillment at the prescribed time must be ensured. The intensification of monitoring can and must help this. This monitoring must be implemented systematically and promptly, simultaneously from above and from below."

Many shortcomings in economic activity, K.U. Chernenko writes, stem from the absence of a precise monitoring system and from the paper style of leadership. It is the lack of monitoring that means that good decisions sometimes just drain into the sand, as it were, and work that has been begun is abandoned halfway. Setbacks befall us every time monitoring of the fulfillment of planned measures is relaxed, the force of mere paper is overestimated and exactingness is reduced. This often happens because checks on execution are episodic and boil down to the mere recording of defects and flaws. Certain personnel, instead of properly investigating progress in implementing decisions at the local level, offering assistance and where necessary calling people strictly to account, confine themselves to fleeting visits, passing remarks or admonitions in the belief that this style creates the necessary "intensity" in work. The book notes that the key to improving this important sector of party and state work lies in unswervingly implementing everywhere the fundamental Leninist principles of monitoring and verification of execution. These include the political approach, party principledness, objectivity, effectiveness, the mass approach, broad publicity, an all-embracing, constant and prompt character and the correct combination of monitoring from above and from below. Practical experience has fully confirmed the immutability and the tremendous mobilizing and creative force of these most important Leninist propositions.

Party monitoring is not a technical, office matter but living work with people. It is characterized by dynamism and its slogan is action, the organic fusion of monitoring with a practical struggle for the unswerving implementation of adopted decisions. It is toward this that the party directs the organizing work of the party and state apparatus.

Many pages of the book are devoted to yet another extremely important element of party leadership--questions of the selection, placement and training of cadres. It is emphasized that the party closely links the improvement of its cadre policy with extremely important criteria for assessing each worker's activity, such as his ability to master from a Marxist-Leninist standpoint political methods of managing the socioeconomic and spiritual processes taking place in society and the ability to work with people, to profoundly understand their demands and interests, to be competent and to know his job thoroughly, relying on the achievements of leading science and practice. The book consistently pursues the thought that the resolution of cadre questions is not some kind of isolated, separate sector in the work of party organs but, on the contrary, is implemented more successfully the more closely it is linked with the collective's life and with everyday practice.

Life cogently confirms, K.U. Chernenko notes, that a cadre reserve is created not in offices but in constant contact with the masses. Promising people must be spotted in time, their positive qualities must be developed. They must be helped to grow and to really display their activities. They must be equipped with knowledge of party work and everything possible must be done to ensure that the qualities of true leaders of the masses are developed and can emerge in every party member. This the cadre policy in action (see p 209).

Examining cadre policy in close interconnection with questions of improving the style of party and state work, the author analyzes the process of management via the activity of the leader, showing him in various situations in the management process and giving the reader the opportunity to draw his own conclusions about the leader's efficiency and quality. This is certainly one of the merits of the book.

Prestige among the people, Lenin said, is enjoyed by those Communists who "assume the most difficult, the most responsible and the hardest duties..." ("Complete Collected Works," vol 39, p 246). This laconic definition of Lenin's provides an exhaustive answer to the question of what the modern leader and party and state worker should be like.

The book pays a great deal of attention to the character of the party worker. Pondering this topic and approaching it from various directions of the theory and practice of party work, the author puts in first place firmness of philosophical and political attitudes and dedication to the cause of communism. A real leader is inconceivable without that. As he passes through the school of life every party worker, the author writes, must always derive knowledge and wisdom from the clear and pure source represented by Marxism-Leninism. A leader's profound partymindedness and political qualities are revealed in his ability to link his own activity to the party's aims and his constant readiness to embark at the party's call on the most difficult and complex task and to work selflessly in any sector the party has entrusted to him (see p 223).

It is on precisely this foundation that such qualities of a leader as profound party-mindedness and competence, responsibility and discipline, initiative and a creative approach to work are firmly based, develop and improve. However, even all this, taken together, will not be enough for a leader unless he develops in himself such a quality as the ability to work with people. After all, people decide the fate of any task. Under contemporary conditions, the book emphasizes, the organizational and technical aspect of management is connected in the closest possible way with the social and psychological, pedagogical and educational aspect. The human factor and the ability to work with people and to carry them along in your footsteps are increasingly urgently coming to the fore. Without this it is impossible to be a real leader and to achieve high end results. Irrespective of what post he holds, a leader must be characterized by a constant desire to be closer to people, to know their sentiments and needs better and to persistently learn the subtle art of contact with the masses. "It is possible to be confident," Comrade L.I. Brezhnev said at the CPSU Central Committee's May (1982) plenum, "about a sector that is headed by a person who knows his job, who cares about it and who knows how to work with people. Of such leaders people say--he is at home. It is the direct duty of party raykoms and obkoms to spot and promote capable, promising workers in time and to help them master the art of leadership, economic management and education."

Many shortcomings and miscalculations in the work style of the management apparatus, the author points out, depend directly on the personal qualities of the leaders of the particular specific sector. Not for nothing is it said that the work style is above all the man. It is a complex and subtle matter to be a real leader and to possess the art of management and of work with people. In Lenin's words, "It is not innate in people but is provided by experience" ("Complete Collected Works," vol 35, p 177). This experience is acquired not only in the course of study but above all in practical work and in the process of self-education and self-instruction. And here it is important always to learn persistently from others and to heed businesslike proposals and criticisms dictated by concern for matters. In order to become a real party worker and truly a political leader of the masses, K.U. Chernenko emphasizes, you have to gain the requisite training in the daily struggle for bread and steel and for the new man. It is precisely in the course of practical activity, of the struggle to implement the tasks set by the party, that our cadres pass through a school of education and of ideological and political tempering and are molded as leaders.

Only some of the aspects of the work of the party and state apparatus examined in detail in K.U. Chernenko's book have been touched on here. The importance and topicality of this theme under present conditions are indisputable. I merely want to stress once again that the main value of the book lies in its multifaceted examination of problems of the management apparatus' activity through the prism of the tasks set by the 26th CPSU Congress. And pride of place is given to questions of the consistent assertion of the Leninist style of party and state work as the science and art of winning and as a powerful ideological and organizational weapon in the struggle for the revolutionary transformation of society. This is why K.U. Chernenko's book will not only be read attentively and with interest, but will also be a good help to party, soviet and economic leaders at all levels in their work.

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MUSCOVITE PATRIOTIC MOVEMENT

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 82 pp 121-124

[Review by V. Oskotskiy, deputy from the Kirovskiy Rayon Soviet of People's Deputies of Moscow City, chairman of the Permanent Commission for Culture, of the books "Moskovskiye Obraztsovyye" [Model Moscow Enterprises]. Collection compiled by G. V. Budnikov and I. A. Vasil'yev. Moskovskiy Rabochiy, Moscow, 1981, 384 pp; "Moskovskiy Kharakter" [Moscow Character]. Collection compiled by M. I. Il'ichev. Moskovskiy Rabochiy, Moscow, 1980, 272 pp; "Po Moskovskomu Vremeni" [Moscow Time] by Yevgeniy Man'ko. Moskovskiy Rabochiy, Moscow, 1981, 185 pp; and "Litso Professii" [Aspect of a Profession] by Vilen L'vov. Moskovskiy Rabochiy, Moscow, 1982, 192 pp]

[Text] The following memorable words about Moscow were voiced from the rostrum of the 24th CPSU Congress: "It is cherished by all Soviet people as the capital of our homeland, the largest center of industry, culture and science, and the symbol of our great socialist state. Extensive housing construction, urbanization, and improvements in the transportation system will be continued in Moscow. Making Moscow a model communist city is a matter of honor for the entire Soviet people!"

The labor collectives in the capital answered the party's appeal with an extensive patriotic movement which covered all aspects of the city's intensive and dynamic life: industrial production and urban economy, housing construction, transportation, science, education, culture and consumer services. The "moral principles of the resident of a model communist city" are being extensively applied. The overwhelming majority of working people are participating in the socialist competition and almost one out of two is a shock worker in communist labor. Valuable initiatives, which earned nationwide recognition, were originated by the collectives of a number of enterprises. "Engineering support for workers' initiative" was an initiative which was born at the ZIL. "A worker guarantee for a quality five-year plan" was the slogan under which the socialist competition at the plant imeni Vladimir Il'ich took place during the 10th Five-Year Plan. The initiative of the Khromatron Plant, the plant for automated lines imeni 50-Letiya SSSR, the Karacharov Machine, Trekhgornaya Manufaktura and Krasnaya Roza Combines, and Automotive Combine No 1, which were the first to join the struggle for becoming model enterprises, was taken up by other sectors in Moscow's national economy. On the eve of the nationwide celebration of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution, by decision of the Moscow City Party Committee Bureau, the Moscow Soviet Executive Committee and the

presidium of the Moscow City Trade Unions Council, the honor title of "Model Enterprise of Moscow City" was awarded for the first time to 18 leading enterprises, organizations and establishments in the capital. By the end of 1980 it had been awarded to more than 70 collectives.

"Moscow Model Enterprises" is the title of the book on the labor collectives of enterprises, organizations and establishments in the city. The documentary essays especially written by Moscow journalists introduce us to the life of some of these collectives, acquainting us with the active atmosphere of their accomplishments and concerns, searches and accomplishments and with the new problems they must resolve during the 11th Five-Year Plan as they implement the stipulations of the 26th party congress. The Khromatron Plant, "an enterprise with the highest quality of equipment in the epoch of communism," the forging shop of the ZIL, the Plant for Calculating-Analytical Machines (SAM), Pnevmostroymashina, Kommunal'nik, the Moscow Cotton Fabrics Factory imeni M. V. Frunze, the locomotive engines depot imeni Il'ich, the taxicab stand No 8, the Cheremushki Clothing Association, the Mosremstroymash Production Association, the Main Moscow Installations and Special Construction Administration, the Scientific Research Institute of the Tires Industry, the Central Scientific Research Institute of Hematology and Blood Transfusion of the USSR Ministry of Health, the Television Technical Center imeni 50-Letiya Oktyabrya and the public catering combine of the Moscow Machine Tool-Building Plant imeni Sergo Ordzhonikidze are described in the essays by R. Lynev, V. Sergeyev, V. Chernyak, Yu. Medvedev, M. Grodnitskaya, G. Yastrebtsov, Yu. Kaz'min, P. Grankin, I. Bryanskaya, V. Barvinskiy, M. Kushtapin, E. Dolot, N. Grigor'yeva and A. Moroz.

The word "action" is perfectly fitting here, for the victories achieved by the collectives of these enterprises and establishments are the direct consequence of a strictly planned system for improving the organization of the production process and painstaking and thoughtful educational work. That is why this fully applies to the words with which A. Kabakov begins his essay on the Moscow locomotive freight yard depot: "It is difficult to be the leader. It is even more difficult to remain in a leading position for many years, again and again confirming one's right to the high title of leader. It is immeasurably difficult for an entire collective to reach and remain in the leading ranks. These are hundreds of different natures, habits and customs.... Collective success is not merely the sum of individual victories but the addition of vectors. The sum of vectors is bigger than all components. Simply stated, the collective wins if all of its members think alike ..." (p 19).

It makes perfect sense that it is precisely A. Kabakov's essay "Heirs of the Great Initiative" with which the book begins. The historical meaning pointed out by the author is that today's work style of the leading personnel of the Moscow-Marshaling Yard Depot "cannot be understood without recalling the history of this enterprise, which twice initiated and became a symbol of the new, the communist attitude toward labor" (p 20).

V. I. Lenin described the communist subbotniks as an event of universal-historical significance, as the beginning of a "more difficult, more

essential, more basic and more decisive coup than the overthrow of the bourgeoisie." In the night of April 1919, the personnel of the Moscow-Marshaling Yard Depot conducted the first communist subbotnik in the history of the country. "The communist subbotniks," he wrote, "are exceptionally valuable as the actual beginning of communism.... Communism begins where rank-and-file workers show dedicated concern, which surmounts hard labor, for improving their labor productivity...." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 39, p 22).

Decades later, the new labor initiative which was born in this depot, continued this great initiative. "To work and live in a communist way" pledged the brigade of the locomotive engines repair shop in October 1958. This was the first communist labor collective in the country. The honor title of Model Collective, which was given to the Moscow-Marshaling Yard Depot in 1977 crowns the great history of the enterprise and symbolizes the unbreakable link of times, generations and traditions. "Could one speak of traditions in a nontraditional matter such as innovation?" the author of the essay asks. He answers his own question as follows: "The example of the famous Moscow Depot proves that it is possible. Furthermore, innovation traditions are clearly among the strongest, if for 6 decades they have forced the entire collective steadily to struggle for the new, to struggle against what is most difficult to surmount in man--habit and routine thinking which frequently encourages us to prefer the old way simply because it is old" (p 29).

The theme of historical continuity between the heroic accomplishments of the previous generations and today's initiatives of the collectives of model enterprises is a theme extensively treated in the other essays as well. Thus, in describing the streetcar depot imeni Apakov, G. Budnikov takes the readers along one of the lines along which works one of the best conductors, party member M. G. Korshunov, who achieved the highest grade of punctuality--98.9 percent--and then to the office of O. G. Tirbakh, the director of the depot; he then takes us to the labor glory room. "Here is a photograph of Petr Lukich Apakov, the leader of streetcar conductors--Red Army men, military commissar of Zamoskvorech'ye and deputy chairman of the Zamoskvoretskiy Rayon Soviet, who lost his life in the struggle for Soviet power. Next to him are the portraits of party veterans and Red Army men of the depot, who took part in the revolutionary battles of 1917...." (p 129). All young men and women who begin their careers in the depot mandatorily visit this museum. History looks at them from the photographic documents and the newspaper and archive materials and, absorbing it, they see themselves as the direct heirs and perpetuators of the traditions. They become imbued with a feeling of profound responsibility for their place in worker ranks.

This comparison with the great traditions of the working class is consistent with Gor'kiy's topic in "History of Factories and Plants." The best essays are similar to sketches in the book, to its initial outlines. Sometimes they resemble brief summaries, the impact of which is enhanced by the fact that the history of both the oldest and the young enterprises organically includes the biographies and destinies of a great variety of people. This applies to V. P. Shcherbakov, who in slightly over 10 years rose from graduate of a

vocational-technical school to the position of director of the Plant for Automated Lines imeni 50-Letiya SSSR (M. Kaminskiy, "Lifeline"), foreman N. M. Archakov, the intelligent and sensitive educator of young workers, and chairman of the council of tutors at the Timber-Processing Combine No 9 of the Main Moscow Industrial Construction Materials Administration (L. Tsvetkov, "Red Woodcutters"), V. D. Podkopayev, chief engineer at the experimental plant of the Scientific Research Institute of Chemical Fertilizers and Insect Fungicides, under whose leadership the production process was radically reorganized and described as "Podkopayev's Effect" (V. Krasnenkov, "In the Main Direction"), A. I. Kuznetsov, the permanent director of the Ukraina Hotel (V. Tishkov, "The Open Gates of the Big House") and other characters in the essays, whose portraits will be remembered by the readers and whose labor accomplishments and practical experience will provide impressive lessons of inner control, purposeful energy and disciplined willpower.

An acute feeling of responsibility, intolerance of complacency, exigency and strictness toward oneself and others, and the ability to earmark and substantiate tomorrow's plans and to direct the efforts of the collective toward surmounting unresolved problems and resolving new and major ones are the components of an extremely efficient style and a prerequisite for the efficiency and quality of their work. "There is no such thing as good in trade," says Deputy Director of the Pervomayskiy V. M. Landau to the personnel, investing in these words a "special meaning" which is described by I. Vasil'yev in the essay "Maturity:" "That which was good yesterday no longer satisfies the customer today." That is why it has become the tradition of the collective always to consult the customers. "Any wish or remark expressed at a buying conference or in the course of a talk, at an exhibit-sale, or a statement in an investigation is analyzed and anything which is noteworthy is mandatorily reported to the enterprise. It is not only reported but the department store persistently sees to it that the production of new goods is steadily increased while goods of obsolete models no longer reach the shelves. Naturally, the results of this work are not immediately visible but they exist and are quite noticeable" (pp 336-337). In 1979 alone, on the suggestion of the store's personnel, the production of 60 items was stopped and about 2,500 new types of goods were received from industrial enterprises.

Looking into the future, predicting it and planning "not simply beautiful words consistent with the requirements of the scientific and technical revolution" is the style of M. V. Mokhnacheva, general director of the Sokol Clothing Association. Scientific planning for the future, writes A. Petrov in the essay "Like-Minded People," means "the theory and practice of engineering management of industrial production as well as history, whose chronicle has effectively confirmed the substantiation of such a strategy of economic planning. The fact that to date 55 percent of the association's output bears the state Emblem of Quality is another major argument in favor of the need to project the future of the enterprise not today and tomorrow but 5 or 10 years from now" (p 190).

As we become imbued with the concerns, actions and labor accomplishments of these and other characters, we unwittingly think of the fact that the expression "Moscow character" is not metaphorical in the least but has a very

specific practical meaning. This is well described by M. Tsarev, people's actor of the USSR: "The unique appearance and individuality of Moscow are the sum of numerous different components and, above all, of the millions of human lives, which creates the collective concept of "Moscow character." The professional activities of the Muscovites, be they workers, students, scientists or artists are inseparably linked with the capital, determined by the atmosphere of activeness, consciousness and friendliness inherent in the population of our city."

M. Tsarev's article "Theater Education," which describes the cooperation between art and labor as one of the old and durable traditions in the cultural life of the capital, is included in the collection of publicistic essays, topically related to the books "Moskovskiye Obraztsovyye." That is why it is entitled "Moskovskiy Kharakter." Its authors are A. Sofronov, R. Sokolovskaya, N. Tselishcheva, A. Vasil'yev, M. Il'ichev, I. Borich, L. Belaya, L. L'vova, M. Reginin, N. Nogina, F. Markov and M. Torchinskiy, as well as some direct participants in the labor struggle for the conversion of Moscow into a model communist city--party worker V. Rodionov, A. Bratishchev, shop party organization secretary at the Dinamo Plant imeni S. M. Kirov, Yu. Ryabkov, chairman of the plant trade union committee at Moscow Clock Mechanisms Plant No 2, and S. Grishin, excellent worker in Soviet trade. The characters of their articles, essays and reports are deserving Moscow people, leading production workers and public activists who, like Anatoliy Sergeyev from the Dinamo Plant imeni S. M. Kirov, "are involved in everything." They include construction worker Anatoliy Surovtsev, head of a Komsomol-youth brigade at Installation Administration No 5 of the famous Moscow House-Building Combine No 1, secondary school teacher L. S. Filippova, who bears the high title of "People's Teacher of the USSR," first aid physician V. N. Kudryavtsev and Irina Rodnina, the famous Soviet athlete. It would be just to say with journalist M. Sergeyev, author of the essay "A Question of Dynasty," that the life of any one of them "would make an interesting novel" (p 58).

The tradition of a labor upbringing is the topic of the article by Hero of Socialist Labor spinning worker at the Trekhgornaya Manufaktura Combine V. Pogibeleva. She describes tutorship, the purpose of which is to contribute to the spiritual development and civic molding of a socially active personality not as petty supervision but as an act of effective aid. "Party members M. A. Marinenkova and D. P. Smirnova, whom I consider my tutors, sponsored my application as party member," the author recalls. "They too had their own tutors--the women of the 1920s. Although unfamiliar with them, I can full well imagine the way they were, judging by what Marinenkova and Smirnova were. Most likely, my young Komsomol friends of today, Vera Maksimova and Galya Kosheleva, have a clear idea of the men and women of the now-distant 1950s, from my stories. They led me to the true path. They helped me to develop as a citizen, worker and party member. Allow me particularly to emphasize that they helped me but not with petty supervision" (p 29).

Militia Lieutenant-Colonel I. Vishnevskiy introduces an important topic with his description of educational work among the population, conducted by the public order authorities who rely on the mass support of voluntary assistants.

The collection "Moskovskiy Kharakter" ends with the article "The Moral Principles of the Inhabitant of a Model Communist City." This is a document which sums up the comprehensive activities of the working people in our capital in the areas of political, labor and moral upbringing and shaping of the new man. No ending could be more apt: the features and qualities of the Muscovite, as described in the book, allow such principles to assume their most vivid and complete manifestation.

In their own way, the discussion about the Moscow character is continued by journalists Yevgeniy Man'ko and Vilen L'vov in their books of essays "Po Moskovskomy Vremeni" and "Litso Professii." With few exceptions such as, for example, V. L'vov's essays on jewelers or customs workers, both authors concentrate not on people engaged in unusual professions but on those practicing the most modest professions such as cab driver, GUM sales clerk, and workers in the communal economy and the reference and postal services. However, the active pulse beat of the capital can not be imagined without these masters of their work, whose efforts properly contribute to the general task of ensuring the increased satisfaction of the growing material and spiritual needs of the Soviet people. Although all of them are engaged in ordinary work, let us not forget that "the continuing daily work, the ordinary daily efforts," as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said, should not conceal "the significance and scale of what is taking place around us," when "every morning dozens of millions of people start their regular most ordinary work day: they stand by their machine tools, drop down into the mines, go to the fields and bend over microscopes, computations and charts. Perhaps they do not think of the greatness of their accomplishments. However, it is they, precisely they who, carrying out the party's plans, lead the land of the soviets to ever-new heights of progress. In describing our time as a time of great accomplishments, we give proper due to those who have made it such--to the working people."

It is thanks to them, the working people, that life is steadily adding pages to such books. This is clearly confirmed by the book "Moskovskiye Obraztsovyeye:" while the book was being printed, the honor title of "Model Enterprise of Moscow City" was awarded to several more enterprises, organizations and establishments in the capital: the Perov Trade Machine-Building Plant, the SVARZ Plant, the IREA Experimental Plant, the Moscow Theater Makeup Cosmetics Factory of the All-Union Theater Society, the Trolley Bus Depot No 2, the Moscow House of Books, the Reinforced Concrete Design Bureau, the Secondary City Vocational-Technical School No 14, and others. Does this not confirm the fact that the labor chronicle of the capital is urgently expecting new articles and essays leading to more books? Like the books already published by Moskovskiy Rabochiy, they too will need Lenin's behest, drawing lessons from the great initiative: "Less political chattering, and greater attention to the simplest, live, borrowed from life and tried by life facts of communist construction--this is the slogan which must be tirelessly repeated by all of us, by our writers, agitators, propagandists, organizers, and so on" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 39, p 13).

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TOPICAL AREA OF PHILOSOPHICAL RESEARCH

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 13, Sep 83 pp 125-128

[Review by G. Shakhnazarov, doctor of juridical sciences, of the book "Sovremennoye Burzhuanoye Politicheskoye Soznaniye" [Contemporary Bourgeois Political Consciousness] by V. V. Mshveniyeradze. Nauka, Moscow, 1981, 448 pp]

[Text] The dialectical interdependence of integration and differentiation of scientific knowledge, which is so characteristic of its present level of development, contributes to the rapprochement among the various disciplines and to the appearance of new scientific branches in areas where already existing branches meet. It can be clearly traced both within identical systems (the natural, social and technical sciences) as well as in relations which objectively develop among them. The study of philosophical-methodological problems plays an important role in identifying the nature of this process.

For quite some time and persistently reality has taken this task to the front end of contemporary theoretical knowledge. Perhaps today the development of a methodology for the study of political relations or, in broader terms, the philosophical aspects of politics, should be given priority.

Politics play a special role among superstructural formations. It acts most energetically and has an increasing influence on base phenomena and on the social consciousness-philosophy, law, morality, religion, and so on, and on the entire material and spiritual life of society. The political "accountability system" assesses not only factors directly related to this area but the various types of activities in science, technology, industrial and agricultural production, mass information, culture, professional relations, tourism and sports.

We find within each one of them clearly expressed two conflicting political lines--the bourgeois, imperialist--and the proletarian, communist. We see here the specific manifestation of the basic contradiction of the age--the contradiction between labor and capital and between capitalism and socialism. This watershed divides above all the most topical global problems of our time which are mainly of a political nature. The future of mankind depends on the way it is reflected in the social consciousness.

The confrontation between the two basic class trends determines the spiritual-intellectual atmosphere of today's world. The first trend is the shaping and functioning of bourgeois political consciousness, characterized by conservative, liberal, radical, reformist and other stratifications. The bourgeois ideologues are making innumerable attempts to combine these currents. However, such efforts invariably fail, for anticommunism--a negative and destructive idea--is invariably taken as a basis for such consolidation.

The lack of positive ideals among the bourgeoisie is not explained in the least by the fact that its theoreticians do not generate concepts of the future. As we know, there is a large number of such concepts. However, not a single one of them can be raised as the banner of mass constructive action. From the positions of the doomed class this is essentially impossible, for this class has lost its objective historical prospects once and for all, and the capitalist system it supports has been in a state of comprehensive crisis for a number of decades.

This trend is successfully countered by communist consciousness, which was shaped and functions on the basis of real socialism and the revolutionary workers movement. Its strength is found in the scientifically substantiated political, social and cultural ideals which can mobilize the social energy of the working people and channel it into building a just and comprehensively progressive society.

The realm of politics and political consciousness has become the arena of most violent ideological struggle and the involvement of the masses on its side and their spiritual liberation from the influence of imperialist propaganda are vital requirements of the international communist movement. The scientific study of bourgeois political consciousness and the definition of its internal structure, forms of existence and means for determining actual political processes are some current topical problems. The CPSU Central Committee accountability reports to the 26th party congress set the social scientists the task of analyzing the phenomena taking place in social political life more profoundly and boldly.

This helps us to understand the reason for the interest in the V. V. Mshveniyeradze monograph, based on rich actual and historical-documentary data and the results of Marxist studies conducted in our country and abroad, and the critical use of Western sources. The author skillfully deals with the category apparatus of dialectical materialism and the materialistic understanding of history in describing the objective relations which exist between political system and political consciousness and between politics and other forms of social activity.

V. I. Lenin's idea to the effect that "politics has its objective logic regardless of the plans of one individual or party or another" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 14, p 190) is taken by the author as the main methodological premise in the philosophical interpretation of political relations. A consistent materialistic approach alone can be a prerequisite for the scientific understanding of politics. Subjectivism and

voluntarism, whether allowed by individuals or parties, do not refute the fact that political processes and relations obey specific objective laws.

The author offers a study of contemporary bourgeois political consciousness in its three essential dimensions: theoretical, expressed mainly in bourgeois political science concepts; state-bureaucratic, prevailing in the thinking of the power elite, and directly determining the style of rule and nature of decisions made; and mass political consciousness. The author points out that the latter cannot be unconditionally considered as part of bourgeois consciousness. This is a rather complex and internally contradictory spiritual phenomenon, which is shaped under the influence of many factors and is a sector of acute ideological struggle.

The author analyzes the political concepts of T. Parsons, D. Easton, S. Huntington, D. Epter, H. Morgenthau, M. (Oakshott), W. Mackenzie, M. Duverge, M. Merl and other theoreticians, which are most popular and influential above all in the United States and England, France, West Germany and Italy. These concepts can be conventionally divided into empirical and pseudorationalistic, each one of which, in turn, consists of a number of scientific schools and currents. The empiricists basically reject the possibility of building a theoretical system of political knowledge and general laws governing political processes. Based on a narrow class utilitarian approach, they look for political ideas and "models" which would "work" in the interest of the bourgeoisie. The supporters of the second trend try to build a general political theory and "to instill rationality in politics." However, they too ignore the objective laws of political relations, considering them an area of activity governed by randomness and which can be studied only on the basis of the probability approach.

In both directions priority is given not to the study of the facts of political life and the interpretation of its inner characteristics but to a more or less objective description of events. The author accurately notes that "imposing its 'accountability system' on objective facts, in the course of which the value significance of political phenomena is determined on the basis of the pragmatic-utilitarian and, consequently, bourgeois-class attitude toward them, is one of the origins of subjectivism in bourgeois political science, both empirical and theoretical" (pp 46-47).

Western political research is almost totally dominated by the elitist-class viewpoint. This is clearly seen in the study of the bourgeois concept of power. It is considered not as a ratio between domination and subordination, which could lead to the need to expose the anatomy of economic conditions governing its functioning, but as "an instrument of rule and control." This distorts the main concept of political power, which is taken out of the interrelationship among antagonist classes.

The conscious support is manifested also in the fact that power is considered as something predetermined, as organically belonging to the ruling elite. It can shift from one group or individual to another. Under all circumstances, however, it remains elitist. The majority of bourgeois political experts do not even conceive of any possible rule by the people. The concept of "people" is virtually absent from their vocabulary.

Naturally, some political scientists in the West are progressive people whose views on the problems of war and peace and disarmament are worthy of support. However, we must point out (as the author emphasizes) that as a rule the criticism of capitalism by such theoreticians is focused only on "improving" the capitalist system and not in the least on its reorganization. Actually, they are in favor of a capitalism purged of organic faults such as unemployment and crises. The gnosiological roots of such utopianism and various illusions are found in the distorted real dialectical ties between essence and phenomenon and the separation of one from the other, which leads to numerous forms of political myth-making.

The author extensively analyzes the "state-bureaucratic" level of political awareness of the bourgeoisie and the elitist way of interpretation of political relations. By virtue of the characteristic division of labor within the ruling class itself, the elite, which holds the actual political power, rarely participates in the intellectual process. This was pointed out by K. Marx and F. Engels, who distinguished between those who write about politics and those who exercise it: "... Within this class some act as the thinkers of the class (the active ideologues who can draw summations and who subsist mainly by developing the illusions of this class about itself), whereas others consider such thoughts and illusions in a more passive manner and willingly adopt them, for in reality such representatives of this class are its active members, for which reason they have less time to engage in illusions and to think about themselves" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 3, p 46).

The main feature of the ruling political elite is to help the bourgeoisie retain and preserve its power. Everything other than the power itself is sacrificed in the struggle for this objective. A "cold" or "hot" war is declared against anything which, as conceived by the ruling stratum, could limit it or constitute an actual or imaginary threat. Reality is considered not in terms of itself but through the lens of the narrowly selfish economic and political interests of the ruling class. Anything that does not fit the "procrustean bed," which has been raised to an absolute of bourgeois class prejudice, is immediately proclaimed "unnatural" and a deviation from the norm.

Elitist thinking is based on positivistic-pragmatic means of perception of political situations (the author describes this type of political thinking as "situational" and on the elaboration of means of practical action aimed at obtaining immediate advantages and "success." The characteristic interweaving of dogmatism with subjectivism leads to a distortion of reality and to adventurism. This largely explains the course charted by aggressive imperialist forces of inflating the military psychosis and the policy "from a position of strength."

The happenstances of the "cold war" and the closely related "psychological" warfare are traced in the book. The author notes that the cold war doctrine was presented in its most complete form in W. Churchill's March 1946 speech. He makes a thorough study of the Fulton program. The "muscular system of the

world" (as Churchill named his speech) includes the full set of anticommunist cliches, starting with the myth of the "Soviet threat" and ending with hypocritical appeals for the defense of human rights.

It was American imperialism which assumed the practical implementation of the cold war program and a course toward world domination. As early as the spring of 1947, U.S. President Truman said: "The free nations of the world look upon us in the hope of obtaining support in preserving their freedoms. If we were to hesitate in fulfilling our leading role, we would endanger peace throughout the world" (p 221). This should be interpreted as follows: the entire world must be restructured on the American model. What has changed since then in the habits of the militant imperialist circles? Today the administration in Washington claims that the primary objective of U.S. strategy is "to help achieve the type of world order which would be consistent with American institutions and principles." Political reality may change but the dogmatic immobility of imperial political thinking remains the same.

The author deals extensively with the means for disorienting the mass consciousness. He analyzes in this connection the views of the "classics" of bourgeois propaganda, such as W. Dogherty, R. Krossman and others. It is worth noting that despite the thoroughly developed "understandable" methods and means for testing the efficiency and utilizing psychological data, imperialist propaganda, as acknowledged by its makers themselves, suffers from the lack of a positive ideal and a constructive objective. The author cites the words of the noted American social psychologist L. Cottrell: "The reason for which our propaganda efforts abroad sometimes appear anemic may be that ... we are pursuing a negative defensive strategy in order simply to stop the progress of communism, without suggesting a real alternative. The only way to make our propaganda energetic is positive action" (p 255). However, that precisely is the matter: there is no real alternative to the communist movement, based on the objective laws of the political process and on Marxism-Leninism as the scientific and theoretical expression of this movement. That is precisely why bourgeois propaganda has to resort to means such as lies, slanders and disinformation.

Fiction and publicistic works, popular best-sellers in particular, have a tremendous impact on shaping the mass consciousness, along with the information media. The author has aptly selected for his study two notorious works by A. Toffler, "Future Shock" and "The Third Wave." The author scrupulously and step by step traces the arguments cited by Toffler to the effect that "mankind is threatened by the future." Not capitalism, not the arms race or a nuclear catastrophe but ... the future! In other words, these people would simply like to stop the future, unable to see in the present the forces which actually determine it.

Unlike the supporters of the theory of "convergence," which was popular in the 1960s, and according to which socialism and capitalism were progressing along converging lines, Toffler starts with the concept that this "convergence" has already taken place. He tries to generalize the features inherent

in capitalism and to ascribe them to socialism. Such attempts are typical of the bourgeois ideologues and are one more confirmation of the fact that capitalism has exhausted itself historically.

Let us especially emphasize as a historical irony the fact that no single capitalist country has been able to discredit capitalism to the extent of the United States, which has always claimed the role of leadership in the "free world." The book includes the characteristic admission of American "Sovietologist" A. Meyer: "Clearly noting the speed and entire seriousness of America's fall from the height at which, no more than 10 years ago, it held unsurpassable positions, it seems impossible not to become a Marxist" (p 286).

The basic problem of our time is the struggle for the prevention of a nuclear catastrophe and the preservation and intensification of detente. The author convincingly proves that the CPSU and the fraternal communist parties, guided by the Leninist materialistic theory of politics, consider peace the highest political value and are doing everything possible for its safeguard and consolidation.

The monograph gives food for thought. It includes interesting observations and summations. It substantively presents the Marxist-Leninist solution of problems distorted by Western theoreticians and pits bourgeois political consciousness against the planned and purposeful process of establishment and development of socialist political consciousness.

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